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The Shape of Things

THE DEMOBILIZATION PLANS OF THE ARMED services sound impressive until they are subjected to close analysis. It has been announced that from 6,500,000 to 7,500,000 servicemen are to be released in the next twelve to eighteen months. In view of the requirements for the occupation armies and the logistic problems involved in getting millions of men home from the four corners of the globe, many persons have taken this to be a wholly satisfactory program. But is it? Demobilization of 7,000,000 men would leave nearly 4,000,000 in the services. President Truman has indicated that 50,000 additional young men will be drafted each month. Thus, under the army and navy program we shall have approximately 4,500,000 men under arms a year from V-J Day. What useful purpose will be served by such a force? The size of the occupation army for Germany has been set at 400,000 men. The maximum figure mentioned for the Japanese occupation force is 1,000,000. Half that number would be more reasonable for a year from now. What of the remaining 3,000,000 to 3,500,000? Do the army and navy authorities honestly believe that they can keep millions of war veterans in American camps and outposts for more than a year after the termination of hostilities? If they try it they will be faced with the greatest disciplinary problem in history—to say nothing of tremendous political pressure from the home folks.

*

HONGKONG IS ONE OF THE MANY AREAS IN the Far East which have been left in an anomalous position by the sudden Japanese surrender. The Chinese have indicated that they intend to occupy the island; the British, although disclaiming "a race" to get there first, say they mean to return. While the Chinese have no legal claim to the colony, they point out that British control is equivalent to foreign domination of Manhattan. In reply the British assert, with some justice, that Hongkong was little more than barren rock before the British transformed it into one of the busiest ports of the world. China itself unquestionably benefited from British protection of this great harbor during the long years of civil strife. While Churchill remained as Prime Minister, the retention of Hongkong was largely bound up with matters of imperial prestige. It is to be hoped that the Labor government will take a more practical view and agree to negotiate with China. Britain's legitimate interests in the port could be safeguarded under Chinese sovereignty if China would agree to the establishment of a free port and recognize existing British property rights in the colony. A quick settlement is desirable so that the port may be opened to relieve the appalling conditions of destitution which exist throughout South China.

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MARSHAL PETAIN, SENTENCED TO DIE, HAS BEEN reprieved by General de Gaulle, who accepted the Court's recommendation of clemency. We believe that the death penalty was justified and that its commutation is wise. As Pertinax pointed out in last week's *Nation*, the trial was conducted in an unsatisfactory manner by a prosecutor who did not fully understand the political background of the Marshal's crime. M. Pottecher, in a cable from Paris on page 179 of this issue, confirms this point and stresses "the air of ambiguity" which hung over the whole proceedings. The fact is that Pétain's crime could not be neatly fitted into any legal category. There may be a doubt about whether he committed treason in a technical sense; certainly he managed in his senile way to rationalize his actions and to persuade himself that he was acting in French interests. His real crime was defeatism, the use of his prestige to drag his country down, his attempt—happily unsuccessful—to degrade the spirit of France. For one guilty of so grievous a wrong to his compatriots there may be clemency; there can never be forgiveness.

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FRENCH SOCIALISTS HAVE EMPHATICALLY rejected proposals for "organic unity" with the Communists. Unity of action on specific measures remains possible, but, said Jules Moch, well known to *Nation* readers, who presented a motion on the subject to the party's National Congress, "organic unity" depends on the fulfillment of three conditions. First, he said, there must be frank statements of policy, unmasked by opportunism; second, respect for true democracy and individual liberty and insistence on equal rights for nations both large and small; third, exclusive devotion to the cause of labor, no ties with any foreign government, and full liberty of criticism and judgment. Clearly, the Communists cannot meet such terms so long as they retain their monolithic party structure and accept their cues, even if they don't receive actual orders, from Moscow. Continued division of the left, therefore, appears inevitable, but in a country with the democratic traditions of France that may be preferable to a situation in which the citizen is forced to choose between a Communist-dominated United Front and sheer reaction. Anglo-American attempts to preserve the status quo in Western Europe gave the Communists their best arguments. If the only alternative to Churchill was to be Stalin, left-wingers were likely to plump for Stalin. Labor's triumph in Britain, however, has revived the spirits of the many Europeans who hope to combine socialism with political freedom.

THE SPIRIT OF PETAINISM

The old Marshal has been legally pronounced a traitor by the High Court in France. But Pétainism was not a crime of one man. It infected a whole generation of reactionary politicians who, bit by bit, before the war and after the French capitulation, bartered away their nation's integrity to serve the interests of their class and even their own private interests. Wherever they held power they worked to defeat democracy and destroy its defenders. One of their last open stands was made in North Africa when the Americans landed. The plots and counter-plots that made possible the landings, the role of Darlan and Giraud, of our democratic friends in Algiers, of young royalist patriots, of Robert Murphy and his flock of consuls, of other Americans with other ideas . . . all this makes an adventure story in which the real villain is the spirit of Pétainism.

That story has been written by Renée Gosset and published by The Nation *under the title "Conspiracy in Algiers." It is sold without profit and we recommend it warmly to our readers as an unequalled source of information on the events and men that crowd its pages and as an indispensable key to the political struggle in Europe today. You will find an order blank on page 187.*

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COMPETENT FRENCH POLITICAL OBSERVERS ARE of the opinion that before long France will break with Franco Spain. The National Assembly has, on several occasions, declared itself in that sense and recent events have done much to crystallize opinion. It may be true, as Mr. Churchill has declared, that the Potsdam condemnation of the Franco regime was decided upon by the Big Three before the British election results were publicly known. But there can be no doubt that the Labor victory, despite Mr. Attlee's failure to mention Spain in his first speech in the new Parliament, will have done much to convince French democrats that the Potsdam declaration can now be supplemented. The French Socialist Party Congress put itself unmistakably on record. In his opening speech the chairman went so far as to express his conviction that Spanish Republicans "would be back home in a few months, if not weeks." And the entire sense of the Congress must have been encouraging to the Spanish Republic in exile. Probably, however, two events will precede a French decision in this matter. If the elections, to be held on October 21, confirm the common belief that the left is destined to be the major influence in French affairs, then a rupture with Franco is almost a certainty. And, if the Spanish Republicans succeed in setting up a broad coalition government in exile, it will probably be given hospitality and early recognition by France.

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A UNITED SPANISH REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT now seems certain. With the warm support of the Mexican authorities an extraordinary session of the Cortes was held last Friday in Mexico's City Hall and Martinez Barrio was unanimously chosen provisional President of the Republic. For the occasion the City Hall and the surrounding streets were officially declared Spanish soil, under the principle of extra-territoriality, and Mexican troops guarded the area. Full Presidential honors were accorded Señor Martinez Barrio by the Mexican government and the Cortes session was attended with all possible ceremony. Diplomatic representatives of many countries were present, including those of France and Russia. The British and the Americans were noticeably absent. Immediately after the Cortes adjourned Dr. Negrín and his Cabinet submitted their resignations to the provisional President but, as we go to press, no decision

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has been reached as to the composition of the new government. Only one thing is certain. The laborious efforts of Dr. Negrín to reunite the Spanish Republican parties and organizations have been completely successful. Readers of *The Nation* who have followed the accounts of his negotiations by his colleague, J. Alvarez del Vayo, know with what patience and good will he has gone about the essential task of bringing divergent groups together behind the simple program of agreeing upon a President who should reconstitute the government through consultation with all the party leaders. The Cortes meeting was a dramatic tribute to his statesmanship.

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IN AN ILLUMINATING DISPATCH ON PAGE 174 Aylmer Vallance singles out the Labor government's proposal to repeal the 1927 Trades Disputes Act as one point in its program likely to provoke particularly bitter opposition from the Tories. One New York paper, we notice, featured this proposal as a plan "to legalize general strikes"—a good example of editorializing in the headlines. The Trades Disputes Act, in fact, was a punitive measure which followed the General Strike of 1926. It did outlaw general strikes, and sympathetic strikes as well. In addition, it circumscribed severely the right to picket, introduced the injunction as a weapon against trade unionism, compelled unions of civil servants to disaffiliate from the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party, and sought to hamstring the political activities of unions by making it as difficult as possible for them to collect contributions from members for their "political funds." Ever since this act was passed its repeal his been a primary objective of the British trade-union movement. There was angry disappointment when Ramsay MacDonald failed to take action during his administration in 1929, pleading his lack of a majority in the Commons. Now that Labor is really in power, the continuance of this crass piece of class legislation on the statute books is unthinkable.

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THE BLANKET OF SILENCE WHICH MAYOR EARL Riley imposed on the discussion of racial problems in Portland, Oregon, has finally been lifted with the release of a comprehensive report on "The Negro in Portland" by the Portland City Club. During the war the city's Negro population increased from 1,900 to approximately 20,000 and, the report declares, a large proportion intends to remain. Dangerous racial tensions have resulted, which the Mayor has attempted to ignore. The City Club confirms what everyone else has long known about the problems Negroes face in Portland and adds some piquant details. It calls attention to Article 24 of the Code of Ethics of the Realty Board of Portland: "A realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood . . . members of any race or nationality . . . whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood." It would be difficult to imagine a more elastic use of the word "ethics." The case for the adoption of a Civil Rights Act in Oregon—one was defeated at the last session of the legislature—is abundantly established by a finding that a majority of restaurant owners in Portland refuse to serve Negroes. Special significance should be attached to another finding—that insurance agencies are generally unwilling to insure Negro lives and that, in the writing of casualty insurance, considerable discrimination exists. The City Club recommends appointment by the Governor of a state-wide committee on racial matters, to be integrated with a similar local committee which Mayor Riley is urged to appoint in Portland, adoption of a non-discriminatory policy, and support of a permanent FEPC.

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A STRONG SMELL OF OIL WAS APPARENT IN THE opposition marshalled by the State and War departments last year to passage of a resolution by Congress in favor of a Jewish national home in Palestine. We are happy that President Truman has reversed past policy in this respect and has let it be known that at Potsdam he urged establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine and the immigration of as many Jews as it could support. The President's statement and the British Labor Party's past opposition to the White Paper raise our hopes that, with the coming of peace, justice will at last be done to Jewish aspirations in Palestine. To open the gates of Zion to all those Jews who do not wish to return to countries whence they were driven by Nazi policies is the least the victorious Allies can do for those who suffered most from Axis oppression.

Churchill Bearing Gifts

THE British Labor government will, we imagine, beware of Winston Churchill when he comes bearing gifts. In his first appearance as Leader of the Opposition, the former Prime Minister made no attacks on the proposals his successor had announced through the medium of the King's Speech. Instead, he devoted most of his speech to reviewing the affairs of Europe in a manner carefully calculated to embarrass the new ministers, to whom ostensibly he offered support. It was an utterly irresponsible performance, which, having regard to the nature of some of Mr. Churchill's remarks, we are forced to describe as fooling with a cyclotron in the presence of Uranium 235.

When he turned to the domestic scene, Mr. Churchill's tones were friendly, if more than a trifle condescending. Adopting the role of the complete democrat, responsive to the people's will, he promised cooperation in forwarding the program laid by the government before the House. He did not quarrel with Labor's proposals to nationalize the coal industry and the Bank of England, declaring he would approach such schemes "in a sympathetic spirit." Speaking of other items in the King's Speech he said: "Here and there may be differences in emphasis and view, but in the main no Parliament ever assembled with such mass-agreed legislation as lies before us."

Mr. Churchill, who is unexcelled as a parliamentary tactician, was undoubtedly wise not to revive the savage attacks on the government's socialist policies in which he had indulged so freely on the hustings. The clear mandate from the electors to carry out those policies was reflected in the King's Speech, which, for all its stilted phraseology, set forth a radical and ambitious program for the new session. In view of the government's majority a frontal assault on this

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program would be doomed from the start. The Tories must therefore reserve their strength until legislation reaches a stage where guerrilla warfare with amendments and points of order becomes practicable.

No one will deny that, within the limitations of his class, Mr. Churchill is a good democrat—at home. But, in the past, he has been inclined to deprecate the export of democracy to lands lacking "the British genius." Now, putting behind him former encomiums for Mussolini and Franco, he has adopted a Lincolnian pose. He stands, he declares, for government of, by, and for the people everywhere or at least everywhere within the Russian sphere of influence.

In his Commons speech last week, Mr. Churchill admitted that in the war-torn countries there is need for a time of "authoritative government" as an alternative to anarchy. What distressed him was that in Eastern Europe such governments were dominated by Communists. He went on to charge that in many countries—he named Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia—secret police have instituted a reign of terror. It was the duty of the British government, he hinted, to take a strong line against such outrages.

That the four freedoms are a long way from being attained in Eastern Europe—and in some other places too—cannot be gainsaid. Secretary of State Byrnes has just protested vigorously against the way elections are being conducted in Bulgaria, and with reason. For the procedures being followed appear to give voters little more than the privilege of indorsing a Parliament pre-selected by the government now in office. But Bulgaria is not the only offender. In Greece the opposition has been subjected to terrorism and discrimination ever since the British Army intervened last December. A handful of foreign observers will not, as Mr. Churchill claims, insure there a "free, honest expression of the popular will."

For ourselves, we are opposed to terror and gerrymandered elections whether they occur in British or Russian spheres of influence, and we are sorry that Prime Minister Attlee, in following Mr. Churchill, passed over the subject with a reference to "limitations on the amount of interference we can make in other states." The Tory opposition evidently intends to needle the Labor government on the subject of Communist dictatorships. The most effective retort would be to adopt a firmer line against all dictatorships, and challenge Churchill and his followers to support it. When the British government (and our own) breaks diplomatic relations with Franco, it will be in a stronger position to withhold recognition of the Bulgarian regime; when it insists on an end to the terror in Greece, it can protest more effectively against its continuance in Poland.

We are sorry too that Mr. Attlee did not immediately repudiate his predecessor's remarks about the atomic bomb—the most mischievous part of a mischievous speech. Disclaiming any wish for "arbitrary power," Mr. Churchill applauded President Truman's proposals to keep the bomb as an Anglo-American secret. Before other nations catch up with us, he said, "we must remold the relationships of all men of all nations in such a way that these men do not wish or dare to fall upon each other for the sake of vulgar, outdated ambition, or for passionate differences in ideologies."

This is very fine rhetoric, but what exactly does it mean if not the use of the bomb as a diplomatic "persuader"? We agree with the New York *Herald Tribune* that the juxtaposition of Mr. Churchill's references to the bomb and his inferential criticisms of Russian policy was "hardly accidental." We agree, also, that atomic force "is far too explosive a weapon . . . to be hastily applied to the international scene." Mr. Churchill is light-heartedly playing with cosmic forces. We hope the Labor ministers will trounce his irresponsibility and dissociate themselves emphatically from his views.

Occupying Japan

AMIDST the general rejoicing over the surrender of Japan there has been an undercurrent of uneasiness in all the Allied countries. Although Domei dispatches report that great crowds gathered outside the Imperial Palace weeping unrestrainedly when the news of the surrender was disclosed, Japan's actions have not been those of a nation which has accepted defeat. The Japanese government has consistently delayed the carrying out of MacArthur's orders; Japanese planes repeatedly attacked Allied ships and bases after the Imperial cease-fire order; Japanese propagandists have been telling the people that they have had to bow to the material force of the Allies but that they did not lose the war "spiritually." In his rescript to the Japanese people, the Emperor boasted that the "structure of the Imperial state" had been saved and would be maintained. And in line with this boast, he appointed an arch-militarist, Higashi-Kuni, a prince of the royal line, to take over as Premier in place of the moderate Suzuki. None of the news from Japan tells of indignation against the leaders whose lust for power brought disaster to the country. Instead, the people are alleged to have given their approval to the view, expressed in various ways, that Japan would do better next time.

While a legitimate cause for uneasiness, the Japanese reaction should come as a surprise to no one. Japan did not suffer the overwhelming military defeat that Germany did. When the end finally came in Europe, the Nazis had lost all capacity for organized resistance. Japan, on the other hand, had not been invaded and the bulk of its army had never even come in contact with our forces. True, the navy had been destroyed, the air force rendered impotent, and vast industrial areas reduced to rubble. But conceivably Japan could have maintained resistance for many more months. Thus, it was inevitable that we should find the Japanese spirit relatively unbroken.

What the Japanese war lords may say in the first hours of defeat is not nearly as important as what kind of Japan we shall have one year or ten years from now. That will be determined largely by the wisdom and firmness of our occupation policies. In many respects the responsibilities of the occupying force are far heavier and its problems far more complicated than those faced by the Four Powers in Germany. Because Japan has not been physically vanquished in the sense that Germany has, it will be the duty of the occupying force to bring home the reality of defeat without resort to inhumanity. The task of taking possession of the Japanese

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islands and setting up an effective governing force will be arduous and delicate. And, as all the fuss over the Emperor indicates, we are woefully ignorant about Japanese psychology and the realities of Japan's social and political structure.

Neither the terms of the Potsdam Declaration nor the note sent to Japan in response to its inquiry about the status of the Emperor provide any guaranty that Japan will be handled with proper firmness. According to these statements the occupying forces have the full authority to do whatever is necessary to destroy Japanese militarism, even if it involves the ultimate abolition of the monarchy and the trial of Hirohito and Higashi-Kuni as war criminals. They will have sufficient power to abolish Japan's feudal industrial and agricultural system and provide channels whereby the Japanese people can set up modern social and political institutions. But we have no assurance that any of these things will be done. The Japanese leaders apparently do not expect any drastic interference with the institutions upon which their rule has been based. They expect to be able to take up where they left off as soon as, or possibly before, the occupation ends.

There is little in General MacArthur's background that suggests that he has either the intelligence or the understanding that is necessary to attack the roots of Japanese militarism. His record in the Philippines is one of subservience to powerful economic interests similar to those that constitute an ever-present menace in Japan. It is possible, however, that MacArthur possesses the firmness needed to deal with the Japanese leaders, provided he is given the assistance of competent political advisers who understand Japan.

It will not be easy to find men with Japanese experience capable of providing MacArthur with the insight necessary for his great task. Most of the State Department men who have served in Japan have become involved with the very groups that need to be destroyed. The missionaries who have lived in Japan are, for the most part, sentimental toward the Japanese people. There are, however, a few experts on Japan available. An outstanding one is Herbert Norman of the Department of External Affairs of Canada. We should not hesitate to use him because he happens to be a Canadian. Even if the occupation is under American direction, it is in theory a joint operation and we should draw freely on our allies for personnel. In this country we have men like Owen Lattimore of Johns Hopkins and Laurence Salisbury of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Choice of any of these men would indicate that we were on the right track.

If, however, former Under-Secretary Joseph Grew or his associate Dooman is chosen, as has been rumored, we will know that the Japanese war lords have indeed won a soft peace. For both men have made it very clear in repeated statements that they favor restoring power to the big business leaders, landlords, and princes who profited by the top-heavy social structure that is fundamentally responsible for the war. They have taken this position, partly because they have many friends and associates among Japanese of this type, but primarily because they fear that disorder and chaos would develop if the restraining power of the *Zaibatsu* and monarchy were destroyed.

We do not deny that the elimination of Japanese economic as well as political war criminals might result in a considerable amount of confusion. There might be strikes and disorders; possibly the Japanese state would collapse into anarchy. But the very fear of disorder is recognition of the possibility that the Japanese are fed up with militarism and dictatorship. Without guidance this discontent may easily deteriorate into aimless anarchy. But it is also a power that could be directed into highly constructive channels, if our occupation authorities were ready with a program of political and economic democracy. One thing is certain: we must not allow the fear of social change to trick us into setting the stage for a new, and more terrible, Pearl Harbor in 1961.

Speed the Murray Bill!

THE NATION applauds President Truman for making the Full-Employment Bill the first "must" legislation of the post-war period. The Murray-Wagner-Kilgore-Pepper-Patman measure offers the only current plan for avoiding a post-war slump, a recurrence of chronic unemployment, a return to pre-war conditions under which the United States dragged along half prosperous, half depressed. The press conference at which the President announced his support of the Full-Employment Bill marks the third step taken by the new Administration to back this historic measure. On June 30 last it was given unqualified indorsement by Fred M. Vinson, now Secretary of the Treasury, in his final report as Director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. Less than two weeks ago the Full-Employment Bill was placed on the emergency legislation list by Senate Leader Barkley after a conference at the White House. The President's statement makes it a key Administration measure for the early post-war period.

Given full support by progressive and labor forces, we believe that the bill can be enacted into law. From a political point of view, it is very hard to vote against full employment. From an economic point of view, no other measure promises to be at all adequate in coping with the basic problem of expanding output and employment to match our expanded productive capacity and manpower. The opposition to the bill, led by Taft of Ohio, falls back on as astounding an argument as was ever advanced by conservative opinion in a changing world. It is that full employment is impossible under capitalism, an extraordinarily subversive and defeatist "line" for conservatives to take. They may be correct—Karl Marx agreed with them—but the experiment is worth trying, and they are completely deluded in the conclusion to which they think their argument leads. To tell the masses that full employment is impossible under capitalism is to invite them to give up capitalism, not full employment. Taft forgets that he is addressing ordinary folk, not a bankers' convention.

If the Full-Employment Bill is to get a fair chance, it should be passed as rapidly as possible. For the day-to-day decisions being made in the course of reconversion are rapidly adding to the difficulty of attaining the objective of the bill. The President is for full employment but too many of the men at the reconversion helm are willing to let business find its own course and set its own speed. It is significant that the President's statement in support of the Full-Employment Bill was elicited by a question about the "From War to Peace" report made public the day before by John

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W. Snyder, Vinson's successor in the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. Snyder's report, unlike Vinson's, indorses neither the Full-Employment Bill nor the view that primary responsibility for full employment must necessarily fall upon government. The key to his thinking lies in the statement that "our peace-time goal of maximum production can be best attained by relaxing controls as early as the supply situation permits." This is no more than a dangerous half-truth. Relaxation of war-time controls, without new planning and directives for full output, can only lead us back to mass unemployment.

Snyder, like Chairman Krug of the War Production Board, is guided by a mystic faith in "pent-up demand" as a solvent of reconversion problems. Krug's press conference on August 15 indicated that he was still depending on high-power sales talks to see us through. The contrast between the carefully-prepared WPB report on reconversion, which had to clear through higher agencies, and the loose over-optimism indulged in by Krug in his oral statements is revealing. The controls of reconversion are in the hands of men unsympathetic to planning for full employment. Much ground may be lost, many costly errors of policy made, before the Full-Employment Bill passes, unless the President tightens up existing reconversion machinery and shakes up its operating personnel.

Notes on the War's End

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

The Emperor's Rescript

I HOPE the Japanese people have learned to decode the intricate double-talk of their rulers. Otherwise they can have no way of knowing that their country has been conquered and their leaders are headed for the scrap-pile—if they are. The Emperor's broadcast to his subjects on V-J Day was one of the trickiest bits of imaginative writing that ever came out of Tokyo. Indeed, the ordinary Japanese, if he had no other facts to go by, must have decided after switching off his radio that his Emperor had, quite voluntarily and for the good of all mankind, agreed to end the war in order to pave the way for a "grand peace for all the generations to come." The Emperor never once uses the word surrender; instead he says he is effecting "a settlement of the present situation by resorting to an extraordinary measure." That measure is an order to the government to accept the "provisions of the joint declaration" of the Allied powers. But nowhere does he explain what those provisions provide. Instead he solemnly recalls his Imperial obligation "to strive for the common prosperity and happiness of all nations" including his own, and only remarks in passing that "the war situation has developed not necessarily to Japan's advantage." This, I think, is one of the nicest phrases an Emperor ever turned. He admits that the emancipation of East Asia didn't pan out just as he had hoped and goes so far as to allude to "the dictates of time and fate" and the atomic bomb. He even warns that the "grand peace" toward which the country is heading will involve "suffering what is unsufferable," but what it is that is "unsufferable" he forbears to tell the people who must suffer it. And he goes directly on to reassure them by pointing out that he had been "able to save . . . and maintain the structure of the Imperial state."

I cite in detail this example of Imperial trickery not because it is funny, after the Japanese fashion, but because it sums up and exposes in a few sentences the political problems awaiting us in Japan. For the Emperor's rescript is a bland defiance of his victorious enemies and an attempt to establish before the occupation forces arrive the innocence and virtue of Japan's war aims, a basis for future claims that Japan never met defeat, and the continued authority of the Imperial throne and the nation's military leaders.

This statement must not be allowed to go uncorrected. The truth should be put before the Japanese people immediately. General MacArthur should insist that the Emperor himself expose his own deceptions. Hirohito should be ordered to tell the people that the imperialist aims of his regime were responsible for the disastrous war now ending; that Japan has been totally defeated, shorn of its conquests, and driven to unconditional surrender; that the Imperial Throne itself and all other former sources of authority in Japan are henceforth subject to the orders of the Allied occupation. MacArthur should order that the terms of surrender be printed in full and distributed throughout Japan. If we mean business when we talk about abolishing everything "that contributed to the militarist tradition in Japan," this is the least we can do. And the sooner we do it, the better.

More About the Atom

People are talking easily, too easily, about the momentous economic and political consequences which must follow the release of atomic energy. By assuming in broad terms the inevitability of revolutionary change, one somehow absolves oneself of the need of doing anything about it. If we were honest most of us would admit, I think, an inner resistance to tackling the implications of the new discovery. We really don't like it: it is too big, too monstrous in its demands upon our intelligence and courage, too hard to understand.

Some writers have brushed off the need for concrete thinking by assuring the world—and themselves—that a generation may well elapse before atomic energy can be harnessed to industrial tasks. Others have opened vistas of wealth and effortless comfort without bothering to consider what alterations in our society these rewards imply. But the fact is clear, behind all this talk, that soon, too soon for our fuddled social thinking, we shall have available a source of power which must ultimately be cheap if only because it is inexhaustible. What difference does it make whether this power is to be harnessed to planes and factories and heating plants ten years from now or twenty-five? The time in either case will be insufficient to prepare adequately for the impact of the split atom.

And before it arrives we shall already be faced with a fight. For if one thing is sure, it is that the application of atomic energy is going to involve a major social and political struggle. Don't let's fool ourselves that because the government today holds the basic patents for the production of atomic bombs, private business will peaceably permit public exploitation of atomic energy for industrial purposes. In the control of that energy lies a source of infinite, incalculable wealth. If business does not try to corner it, or at least chisel

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off a substantial share of it, then the profit motive has lost more of its push than I believe it has. Certain business interests will also have the most intimate reasons to try to delay the production and limit the use of atomic power. Over night vast capital investments in water power, in coal, in transportation may be wiped out; and before that happens those interests will fight. If the energy should first be developed for industrial use in other countries, we shall see a hopeless but bitter attempt to shut out the cheap products that will result from cheap power; then a determined effort either to outstrip foreign competitors or come to terms with them through cartel arrangements.

To meet the sure and organized efforts of business to turn atoms into profits, progressive groups should begin to do some hard thinking about the economic world that will result from this revolution. Studies should be undertaken immediately to discover in advance ways of utilizing the new power so that the people will reap the whole benefit of its discovery. Possible methods of control should be carefully considered: mixed versus straight-out socialist economy, for example. The international aspects of a world linked by atomic energy should be examined. (Is there any longer an excuse for American excursions in oil imperialism in the Middle East?) And such acute specific problems as the fate of great regional power developments like the TVA and of whole industries like coal and oil should be studied separately and as part of the over-all economic picture.

I believe our American labor organizations should promptly put money and attention into an analysis of these problems. I believe the C. I. O. and the Citizens Political Action Committees should set up a joint research group to study them in broad national terms. I believe smaller progressive associations should reconsider their functions in the light of the new knowledge; the Union for Democratic Action, for example, might give up its *ad hoc* political efforts and constitute itself as a deliberative and research body working along the lines of the Fabian Society.

Atomic energy is more than a remote and disconcerting threat; it is an imminent fact to be dealt with bravely and realistically—and without delay.

Shake-up in the State Department

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, August 17

IT WOULD be pleasant to believe that the resignation of Joseph C. Grew as Under-Secretary of State indicated that President Truman and Secretary of State James F. Byrnes had begun to understand what a mistake they made in following Grew's advice on the Japanese Emperor. It is possible to state with assurance only that Grew's successor, Dean Acheson, sharply disagreed with our former Ambassador to Tokyo on the question of how far we could rely on Hirohito. In intra-departmental conferences, the new Under-Secretary was signally un-crushed by Grew's favorite retort, "Have you ever lived in Japan?" To be succeeded by Acheson must be a bitter pill for Grew, as for the whole inside clique in the State Department.

For Acheson has been in the minority on issues other than that of the Japanese Emperor. He has been pro-De Gaulle, anti-Franco, strongly opposed to the admission of Argentina to the United Nations, and friendly to the Soviet Union. He is not at all likely to be frightened by a Labor government in England, even if it carries out its socialist program. Of all the men now in the department, Acheson was by far the best choice for Under-Secretary, and it is no small advantage to pick a man who already knows a good deal about the inner machinery.

By all superficial marks, Acheson would appear to be a natural member of the snobbish clique which generally runs the department. He is a man of wealth and social standing, a Grotonian, a successful corporation lawyer. But his intellectual horizons and human sympathies transcend this background. He was once private secretary to Brandeis. He took time off from his corporate law practice to argue the constitutionality of minimum-wage legislation in the United States Supreme Court. He is not at all stuffy, and at fifty-two still has plenty of ginger in him.

There are differences of opinion in Washington as to how "strong" a man he is. He is strong enough to do a good job in the department if he is sufficiently supported by Secretary Byrnes and the White House. The job of Under-Secretary is as important as its holder and his chief choose to make it. He can be the actual administrative head of the department, or, as Sumner Welles was, he can be by-passed and rendered ineffective by the inside clique.

One of Acheson's assets lies in his relations with Congress. He deserves a generous share of the credit for the passage of the Bretton Woods legislation, and he played no inconsiderable part in the Senate's approval of the Charter. His ability to make friends and influence people in Congress is the kind of quality that impresses practical politicians like Truman and Byrnes. Within the department, Acheson's closest alliance has been with MacLeish and, among the new men brought in by Byrnes, with Benjamin V. Cohen. Cohen and Acheson laid the groundwork for the destroyers-for-bases deal with England, and have long been close friends.

Acheson disliked the "new team" put in charge of the department last year by President Roosevelt and submitted his resignation in January. He was persuaded to stay on to help put Bretton Woods through Congress and then to aid the Charter fight in the Senate. The strangest thing about Acheson's appointment is that it was obviously a surprise to him, and came three days after the New York *Times* reported that Byrnes had accepted his resignation as Assistant Secretary

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One of these days it is likely that the various agencies of government dealing with foreign economic and propaganda matters will either be merged into the State Department or brought closely under its control. This policy has much to recommend it from the standpoint of neat administrative arrangements, though not from a realistic point of view—so long as the department remains what it is. Under such circumstances it would be most useful to have as Under-Secretary a man with Acheson's knowledge and experience in handling foreign economic problems.

It would be well, however, not to expect too much. A real overhauling of the department has been long overdue but it is unlikely to be obtained from a Secretary of State as conservative as Byrnes. The resignations of Archibald MacLeish and Julius Holmes can hardly be fitted into any consistent pattern. The progressive MacLeish has worked hard under difficult circumstances to improve the Department's public relations and did an excellent educational job on the San Francisco Charter. The departure of Holmes is welcome news, for he is a combination of brass hat and cookie pusher, and as Assistant Secretary in charge of personnel was likely to multiply the snobs in the Department and the Foreign Service. I hope that Chase National Bank boy scout, Nelson Rockefeller, will follow him into retirement.

One of the discouraging factors in the situation is that Byrnes assigned the Budget Bureau to make a study of the State Department. The Budget Bureau is at best formalistic and academic, and at worst a nest of reactionary wire-pullers and intriguers. The task of finding out what is wrong with the Department should not have been intrusted to pundits who specialize in neat little blueprints.

The ideal way to prepare for a reorganization would be with a thorough series of hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Congress and the country ought to hear from the men in other divisions of the government who have had to do business with the State Department, from the men who have left it in disgust, and if possible from some of the younger men within it. Only a full airing of policies and personalities could provide enough knowledge and arouse enough interest to establish the basis for a real housecleaning.

China's New Danger

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

[*Mr. Stewart, an associate editor of* The Nation, *lived in China for six years. He is author of "War-Time China."*]

A SITUATION of utmost gravity has arisen in China as a result of Chiang Kai-shek's determination that the Communists shall not share in the victory over Japan. After ordering the Eighteenth Group Army (the Communist forces) not to disarm the Japanese in their sector, Chiang arranged to use American transport planes to rush his troops to areas where the Communists were prepared to take over. At the time this article is being written it is impossible to foretell the outcome. But local clashes between the Kuomintang and Communist troops have already been reported. General Chu Teh, commander-in-chief of the Eighteenth Group Army, has rejected Chiang's order on the ground that it contradicts a simultaneous order to all Chinese armies to summon the Japanese to surrender and because it "runs contrary to the national interest of China." Since the Communists dominate virtually the whole of North China and important areas in Central China, it seems certain that they will be able to force the surrender of enough Japanese to obtain control of large supplies of arms.

Local skirmishes between Kuomintang and Communist forces need not necessarily lead to a general civil war in China. It is possible that after a certain amount of sparring and testing of strength the opposing forces will settle down into a sort of armed truce. If so, we shall have, in effect, two Chinas nearly equal in size and strength. The undesirability of such a development need hardly be stressed. If China is to assume the great responsibilities and opportunities the peace has brought, it must, above all, achieve internal unity.

But there is grave danger that the local clashes will precipitate an immediate general civil war. The arms and ammunition which both sides are obtaining from the surrendering Japanese make such a conflict possible despite China's exhausted condition after eight years of war. For years Chungking has been preparing for a final liquidation of the Communists at the end of the war with Japan. Hu Tsung-nan's armies, which have been used to blockade the Communists for the past five years, are among the best trained and best equipped in China. If Chungking is to be restrained from seeking an immediate showdown, the restraining force will have to come from outside. Russia's entry into the war and the more recent Soong-Stalin agreement in Moscow provide the chief hope of averting a conflict. For in gaining possession of Manchuria, Russia is in a position, for the first time, to give direct material or military assistance to the Chinese Communists and will have in its possession vast quantities of first-class military equipment taken from the Japanese Kwantung armies. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Soong-Stalin agreement contains a formula for the settlement of the Kuomintang-Communist controversy. The urgent invitation which Chiang Kai-shek has sent to Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Communists, requesting a conference, may be a direct outcome of this agreement. But even if internal affairs are not covered in the formal agreement, Chungking must know that if it attacks Yenan it risks a conflict with the powerful Red Banner forces now established in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.

This would seem to be a sufficient guaranty against civil war. But it will be largely nullified if Chungking feels that it can count on American aid to offset possible Russian

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assistance to the Communists. While the idea of American intervention in a new war in China, even before the smoke of the last war has cleared away, will be repugnant to the average American, the rising militancy in Chungking's attitude toward Yenan suggests that it is banking on support from Washington. Recent arrivals in this country from Chungking confirm this judgment. The effort to play off the United States against Russia is a direct and inevitable outcome of the policies which Ambassador Hurley has followed since his arrival in China last fall. Although sent to China by President Roosevelt for the specific task of obtaining a Kuomintang-Communist settlement, Hurley has favored Chungking from the beginning. He abandoned the Stilwell policy of making military considerations the sole criterion in apportioning war supplies and has turned all lend-lease shipments over to Chiang Kai-shek on the ground that his was the only "legal" government in China. No conditions were imposed regarding the use of American-supplied arms, and some equipment is reported to have been used recently against the Communists. Finally, as a logical culmination of this policy, Hurley has put American planes at the disposal of Chiang Kai-shek in his race to keep the Communists from obtaining Japanese arms.

In making this dangerous foray into power politics, Hurley has completely reversed the Gauss-Stillwell policies which came so close to achieving unity in China last fall. Stilwell maintained that America's only concern was in obtaining the maximum Chinese contribution to the war. He knew there were elements in Chungking that were content to sit back and let the United States assume the burden of defeating Japan. He felt that Chiang Kai-shek ought to be willing to root them out as a condition for American material assistance. And he maintained constant pressure on both Chungking and Yenan to end the wasteful internal conflict. In the latter part of 1944 American pressure, combined with the effects of the Japanese advance into Kweichow, nearly resulted in the establishment of an all-party national government. But this opportunity was lost when Hurley replaced Gauss and quickly allowed himself to be taken into the Chiang Kai-shek camp. The Chinese are accustomed to the give-and-take of bargaining. They are masters of the art of compromise. And when it became evident that Hurley was prepared to give Chungking the help it required without exacting substantial concessions in return, all hope of a settlement went aglimmering. Hurley further weakened his position by dismissing from responsible posts on his embassy staff all the men with long China experience. General Wedemeyer, who replaced Stilwell as head of the American military forces, has frequently been at odds with Hurley, but he has not sufficient background in China to play an important role in shaping policy. And there is no one with extensive experience in the State Department at a high enough level to restrain Hurley.

Perhaps the most tragic aspect of the present policy lies in the fact that it has served to strengthen the most reactionary and irreconcilable clique in Chungking at the expense of groups that have been trying to bring about democratic reforms within Kuomintang China. These latter groups have never been politically strong either in the army or in key party posts. But they undoubtedly speak for the vast majority of the Chinese people in demanding a reconciliation of all factions and an end to the restraints of dictatorship. A few weeks ago, before Chiang and Hurley had combined in an attempt to thwart the disarming of the Japanese by the Communists, the middle groups in the Kuomintang seemed to be gaining. The People's Political Council, which contains some non-Kuomintang representatives, voted unanimously to ask the government to postpone the scheduled National Assembly so that a settlement might be reached with the Communists. The decision to send Premier Soong to Moscow implied a willingness to reconsider the country's internal as well as external policies. But the sudden ending of the war upset all previously laid plans. War lords, political groups, and other interests are participating in a mad scramble to gain control of as much of the occupied sections of the country as possible in order to enhance their power. In placing American planes at the disposal of the central government, Ambassador Hurley may have tipped the scales decisively against the democratic forces which were emerging in Kuomintang China.

Chiang Kai-shek

China's future as a world power depends upon its ability to evolve a strong national government, truly representative of the people and sufficiently progressive to adopt modern forms of social, political, and economic organization. Short of revolution, this can be achieved only if the present ruling group consents to a broader representation in the government. The United States could hasten this process by offering substantial economic assistance once a democratic government is formed. But it will never be achieved as long as American influence is invariably on the side of the ruling clique. Liberal Chinese insist that there can be no settlement of the problem as long as Ambassador Hurley remains. They charge that he is guilty not only of bias and lack of understanding of the Chinese situation but of bad faith in dealing with minority groups. The Communists declare that he has repeatedly shared confidential information, which they furnished to American representatives in Yenan, with high Chungking officials. These charges may or may not be true. But regardless of their accuracy, it is obvious that Ambassador Hurley has failed in his mission. The rival Chinese factions are farther apart today than when he arrived. No Ambassador, regardless of his ability, can succeed if he is distrusted by substantial groups within the country to which he is accredited. For the sake of America's good name and the welfare of countless millions of Chinese, let us bring Hurley home at the earliest possible moment.

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British Labor Goes to Work

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

[*Mr. Vallance, formerly editor of the London* News-Chronicle, *is now on the staff of the* New Statesman and Nation. *In 1939 he was a frequent contributor to* The Nation. *During the war he was Director of Psychological Warfare for the British War Office.*]

London, August 16 (By cable)

THE King drove to Parliament yesterday through a London whose population, under a thin veneer of rejoicing on the part of exuberant, youthful crowds, faces soberly the grim problems that have broken out with peace. The session opened with the usual quaint pomp, suggesting that Labor was deliberately emphasizing the continuity of tradition in a parliamentary democracy. Delivered from the time-honored gilded throne in the Peers' chamber, the speech contained few surprises and little stimulating phraseology. Its program, outlined with the same shrewd caution that characterized Prime Minister Attlee's choice of ministers, represents not an inspiring five-year plan but simply the Cabinet's estimate of the maximum legislation possible within a single year's session. In this connection it is important to appreciate the fact that, deducting the time absorbed by essential debates on the budget and routine business, barely ninety parliamentary days are available in a year for discussion of new legislation. Even for the relatively modest beginning which this session proposes to make on the full election program, it will be necessary to expedite parliamentary procedure. The government, I predict, will remit bills increasingly to separate committees sitting simultaneously.

The outstanding feature of the domestic program is the priority given to measures to consolidate the control of finance. Considering the high degree of control the Treasury already exercises over the Bank of England, nationalization of the Bank is less important than the promised "machinery for effective planning of investment." This foreshadows a national investment board with the function of canalizing sav-

LASKI: "LADIES AND GENTS, DALTO THE GREAT WITHOUT MORE ADO WILL NOW BALANCE THE BANK OF ENGLAND WITH ONE HAND."
DALTON: "HALF A MO, HAROLD. LEMME GET WARMED UP"

STAR TURN IN THE CITY

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ings into socially desirable projects, including both housing and selective industrial reconversion and reequipment. Informed circles in the financial district expect a policy of reducing the interest on money, with perhaps a rate of 1 per cent by the Bank of England, thereby facilitating the flotation of a big 2 per cent housing loan. However that may be, the government evidently considers the direction of capital essential as the basis for the implementation of reconstruction, including both the nationalized industries and trades like cotton which, while remaining in private hands, have been promised government assistance by Sir Stafford Cripps, provided the costly machine replacements, making possible higher wages, are undertaken.

The remainder of the domestic program, announcing the expected nationalization of coal and a unified social-security system based on the Beveridge plan, includes one item, namely the outright repeal of the 1927 Trades Disputes Act, which will challenge bitter opposition by the Tories. They will argue that the government's readiness to tolerate "labor indiscipline" contrasts flagrantly, from the Tory standpoint, with its intention to discipline the freedom of capital investment.

There are several noticeable omissions in the domestic field. First, there is no hint of the establishment of an over-all Ministry of Housing. Without any indication of what scope is to be alloted to private enterprise, effective mobilization of building resources is promised but handicapped by the continuance of three overlapping departments, those of Health, Town Planning, and Public Works, sharing responsibility under the vague direction of Arthur Greenwood. Second, there is no promise to improve the current rates of old-age pensions to conform with increased living costs, a promise to which many Labor members are individually committed. This, however, may be included in the social-insurance bill. Third (this is presumably to be explained by a consideration of this session's congested parliamentary time-table), there is no specific reference to the intention to nationalize the railways, electricity, and steel. Air transport will be vaguely "reorganized," the power industry "coordinated," and measures taken to facilitate the acquisition of land needed for social purposes. This may create an impression of a studiously moderate, almost pedestrian, program, but the Labor Party will approve the policy of advancing slowly but surely. Provided the administrative use of existing statutes and powers is really energetic, the new legislation, coupled with the announced determination to retain needful price and supply controls, to organize national resources and expand exports, suffices to give promise of an orderly, practical, and nonrevolutionary approach to socialism.

If disappointment with any part of the King's speech is justifiable, it is in the matter of external affairs. It is conceded that the good points in this field are the explicit promise of early and full self-government for India, and the reference to the absolute need to abolish war in an atom-ridden world by firm cooperation with peace-loving peoples desirous of freedom and social justice. Possibly more specific proposals will be elicited in the early debate on ratification of the United Nations Charter, but many here hoped that the speech would contain a more forthright and dramatic declaration of Labor's willingness to abandon national armaments in favor of a really effective international security council monopolizing the control of the atomic bomb. The inference is that Cabinet policy on this overmastering issue is still undecided and warily watchful of developments in the political strategy of Russia. The slow formulation of the Cabinet's foreign policy is likely to disappoint left and resistance movements in Europe, which will listen vainly for the voice of comradeship. Significantly, Bevin is emphasizing with some astringency that Laski speaks only for himself in foreign affairs. On the Bretton Woods agreements and Britain's economic relations with the United States, the silence is discreetly unbroken.

The Last War Front

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

[*Mr. Bolté,* The Nation's *military critic, joined the British army before Pearl Harbor and fought as a lieutenant in North Africa. He is now president of the American Veterans' Committee.*]

THE first global war in history has ended, abruptly and before we had any right to expect it to end, with total victory over our enemies. It was an unprecedented war: in the number of nations involved, in the number of fighting men who contested with one another, in the extent to which civilian populations were drawn into it, in the degree to which it was mechanized and made technological, in the number and degree of new weapons and tactical innovations, in its cost, in its brutality, in the refinements of its tortures, in the agony and suffering it caused, in the extent to which it dislocated the previous arrangements of civilization, and in the enormity of the problems of reconstruction and settlement of still unresolved conflicts it has left as legacy.

Now, after the flush of our first exultation in the magnitude of our victory, our thoughts turn naturally to the manifold problems of peace. Yet it may be useful to consider the manner of our victory. Much may depend on how well we study the lessons set forth by, or concealed within, the progress of the war.

To begin with, it must be said that Japan was not in any long-term sense a first-class power, and that in the long-term sense there was no real prospect that it could win the war. It lacked the industrial complex on which to base offensive blows powerful enough to defeat the United States alone, much less the combined might of the Anglo-American alliance, and still less the overwhelming combination of that al-

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liance with the great strength of the Soviet Union. Yet, because of a very special set of circumstances unusually favorable to it, Japan in less than a year after Pearl Harbor was able to win its war. Winning its war meant for Japan the establishment of control over the great sweep of islands through the central and southwest Pacific to the East Indies, over the domain of Southeast Asia, and over the key industrial, agricultural, and commercial areas of northern and coastal China. Thus it achieved the empire which gave it the things it so sorely lacked in the home islands: space, raw materials for war, and a massive population which might be used in furthering its imperial aims.

But the winning of these things, grandiose and awe-inspiring as the accomplishment seemed at the time, represented merely the successful waging of a war of limited objective. That kind of war, in which the intention is to wrest some particular advantage or advantages from an enemy state or combination of enemy states, could be fought and won in the old days. In the middle of the twentieth century it is an impossibility in fact and a contradiction in terms. Total war involving the total resources of the nation, natural, human, and spiritual, can end only in total victory or total defeat. It was possible for Japan to win its war; it was not possible and never could have been possible for Japan to consolidate its victory. This may be set forth as a rule arising from the experience of this war: that wars of limited objective are no longer possible, and that the gaining of any ends through warfare can be accomplished only by totally defeating the enemy.

Japan was enabled to win even its limited objectives because of its enemies' preoccupation on the other side of the world. There were lesser contributing facts: Allied unpreparedness, the remoteness of the battlefield from the sources of Allied strength, the failure of white imperialism in the Far East (the one objective which the Japanese may have achieved permanently is a social, political, and economic rather than a military one: the expulsion of the white man from his position of overlord to brown and yellow men). These, except for the last, were temporary advantages. Germany was the more immediate threat, had more nearly won its war, and might yet have denied us our chance of getting onto the Continent; so the great military and political decision was made to concentrate on Germany first. Nevertheless, American resources and technological skill proved so abundant that the Japanese were halted and then started on the backward road even before the peak of our European effort was reached. It is probable that victory in Europe would have been won more quickly and cheaply if General Eisenhower had had at his disposal the landing craft, airplanes, and troops which were flowing in an ever-increasing stream to the Pacific; but it also seemed at the time, before the atomic bomb was a reality, that to follow this course of European concentration would have left the Japanese so much freedom to consolidate their gains that the eventual Pacific victory would have been long delayed. The event has proved the wisdom of the policy of concentrating on Germany while simultaneously pushing Japan's outposts back; it has also proved the unwisdom of Japan's hazard that its enemies would be too long occupied in Europe to interfere with its plans.

The flexibility of a well-integrated and diversified technological system, plus the resourcefulness of free men in a democratic society, quickly corrected the situation of Allied unpreparedness in the Far East. One of the greatest Japanese miscalculations, as it was one of the greatest German miscalculations, was the estimate of the democracies as being soft and decadent. Pearl Harbor put iron in the American fiber as Dunkirk put it in the British fiber: in both cases the psychological jolt set the wheels of production in motion, and turned non-militaristic peoples into most valiant fighting men.

Linked with production of matériel and activation of good fighting units, was transportation. Distance was the greatest enemy in the Pacific, and those who knew something of the problems of logistics felt very gloomy in the early years of the war when they looked at maps revealing the mileage between Detroit and Tokyo. A colossal effort in the field of civilian and military transportation, rail, sea, and air, and a revolution in the field of naval logistics, surmounted the barrier of mere miles. The radical innovation was the fleet train: the convoy of oilers, supply ships, and repair ships which followed the fleets into action, kept them in fighting form, and allowed them to stay in action thousands of miles from their bases for weeks at a time.

Thus Japan's initial advantages were overcome. As the war progressed, fatal flaws in its over-all war machine became apparent. Its troops, despite extraordinary devotion and a widespread belief that they went to some Japanese heaven quickest by dying for their Emperor, were almost invariably over-matched in battle with more inventive, better trained, and better equipped American troops who wished above all else to remain alive. Its aircraft, once they had lost the initial advantage of being more maneuverable, were easily destroyed, and had eventually to inflict their most serious damage by being piloted directly into their targets, in that strange and anti-human phenomenon we came to call kamikaze. The enemy's ships, for a time almost unchallenged on the Pacific, were out-maneuvered, out-fought, and finally almost eradicated by the sea-air forces of the United States Navy which, as the war drew to a close, was incomparably the most powerful navy the world has ever seen or will ever see again.

Despite the gains made in the middle years of the war, gains made possible by the great productive and transport power of the United States, and by the almost routine and universal bravery and skill of Allied fighting men engaged in the Pacific, Japan presented a formidable appearance as the European war ended. It had, considering the size and strength of the forces being marshalled against it, the appearance essentially of a power which needed to be mopped up, because it was severely weakened in important respects and possessed no military resources which would stave off defeat; yet its remaining resources—of which geography was still one of the most important—were such that the mopping up gave promise of being arduous and protracted. Its holdings were so far-flung that three relatively uncoordinated campaigns—the spearhead at Okinawa; the consolidation of our earlier gains in the southwest Pacific which had left many thousands of enemy troops by-passed; and the sprawling campaign in the Southeast Asia Command—were being waged against Japan. On the mainland of Asia the Japanese

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were just being pushed out of the most advantageous position they had ever held, with a land corridor from Korea to Singapore. Chinese forces were slowly staging a comeback, thanks to American training and the impetus of American supplies flowing in over the arduous hump route; but China, weakened by aggression and by savage internal discord, gave no promise of a major contribution for a long time. The best and most numerous Japanese troops were concentrated in the unweakened Kwantung Army in Manchuria and north China. The home islands, lashed by ever-larger fleets of B-29's, bombarded and strafed at close range by the guns and aircraft of the unchallenged Pacific Fleet, interdicted from communication with the southern empire and the mainland by an increasingly stringent air and sea blockade, were still relatively untouched by war: their difficult terrain and strong military forces forecast a savage and bloody battle against the imminent invasion from the American sea.

This was the situation when the Potsdam ultimatum was issued. The Allied leaders cannot seriously have thought that it would be accepted. Defeat was inevitable for Japan; it was inevitably bloody and costly for the Allies to achieve that defeat. When the ultimatum was spurned, the order went forth to drop the atomic bomb. With its use, every military consideration of ages past was made subject to drastic review, the political organization of the world was made obsolete, the social orientation of mankind was radically altered, and the moral imperatives we have accepted were put to their gravest test. The least effect of the use of atomic energy was the immediate Japanese surrender. The entry of the Soviet Union into the war, pledged at Potsdam and likely hastened by the affair at Hiroshima, was only the capstone on the event. No nation has yet shown itself prepared to accept self-immolation, even though some less final solution involves a diminution of national honor.

So the war ended: but it ended so soon and with so little material cost to us only because we accepted the consequences implicit in setting in train the vastest and most unpredictable revolution of our troubled planet.

The Story of the PC 1264

BY ERIC PURDON

FIFTEEN months ago a lean new submarine chaser lay moored to Pier 42 in New York City. A little less than 180 feet long, she awaited the dedication that would make her the newest unit of Uncle Sam's fleet. The ship's company of sixty-six men stood rigid at salute, and with their friends and families on the dock watched the bright new ensign raised smartly to the flagstaff. The United States Ship PC 1264 was commissioned: the first minor warship to be manned by a predominantly Negro crew.

It is natural that this ship was destined to be watched with interest as a lesson in race relationships, not only by the navy, to whom it can mean a new source of manpower, but by all who want democracy to work. For here was a chance to see whether the familiar generalizations about the Negro are true. Basically the question early in 1944 was: "Can Negroes make good seamen?"

The "good" is important, for seagoing Negroes are not new in the history of the world. One made the first transatlantic crossing with Columbus; others fought in the embryo Continental navy—but how good they were as seamen I don't know. As commanding officer of the U. S. S. PC 1264, however, I know what a representative group has done in almost a year and a half of operations in all sorts of weather, in all sorts of sea, performing the duties of ships of our class: patrolling the sea lanes to search for and attack submarines, riding herd on the fat, slow, heavy-laden merchantmen plying the convoy routes.

When I assumed command on April 25 last year our complement consisted of five white commissioned officers, eight white leading petty officers, and fifty-three colored ratings and seamen. Geographically we were a typical American crew: there were men from the plains of the Middle West, the forests of the North, the cotton fields of the South, the ranches of the Far West; farm boys, garage mechanics, fishermen, mail clerks, stevedores, warehousemen—the oldest forty-four, the youngest seventeen.

The eight white petty officers were ordered to the ship primarily as instructors, for the strength of any fighting organization is in its non-coms. At that time Negroes hadn't held general rates long enough to have seagoing experience, irrespective of the lack of ships for them to serve in. For after the last war, when the armed forces were cut to peacetime strength, the only branch of the navy in which Negroes could enlist was the stewards'. General rates, such as boatswain, gunner's mate, and machinist, were closed to them until 1942. It was realized that experienced white men would be needed at the start; later, if Negroes were found to qualify as leading petty officers, the white personnel could be transferred and Negroes promoted to replace them. Within six months I was able to recommend that this change be effected. Today all petty officers and one commissioned officer are colored.

Of course, a few months' sea duty doesn't make a rounded seaman. There is always a lot to be learned, not only by the enlisted men but by the officers. The expansion of the service necessitated rapid learning, and I consider that the greatest secret weapon our country produced in this war was the development of intensive teaching methods that enabled us within a short time not only to man ships as they should be manned but to operate the many new scientific devices of modern warfare. Education is the secret of the PC 1264's success. Generalizations such as "Negroes haven't the capacity to learn" are nonsense. Give them the opportunity and they'll learn. In all the services the men who have caused disciplinary problems are largely those from poor communities where educational facilities—particularly for Negroes—

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are few or non-existent. When they have the opportunity and the incentive to learn, discipline takes care of itself.

When I was ordered to the ship, the racial problem was something with which I had not concerned myself. Enjoying the quiet life of an editor in a Northern publishing house before being called to active duty early in 1941, I had had practically no contact with Negroes. I knew there was a problem, just as I knew there was an Arab-Jew problem in Palestine and a Serb-Croat problem in the Balkans. All were beyond my personal orbit. I was perhaps typical of many white Americans. My duty aboard this vessel has convinced me that it is just this lack of knowledge that is the root of misunderstanding between the two peoples. When they are engaged in a common purpose misunderstanding disappears, and a new, usually surprising, realization takes its place—a realization summed up in the words of a Southern officer full of arguments for "white supremacy," who was a passenger for a short while: "Halfway through the trip I forgot they were black."

On the PC 1264 we learned to judge each other only as individuals. I remember a youngster I restricted to the ship for returning late from liberty. The following day he requested a transfer, because, he claimed, the crew was picking on him. I discovered that the crew had laughed at him for believing that he had been restricted because of his color. Soon he was laughing himself.

At one time we had delivered a convoy and were in a port awaiting the formation of a returning convoy. In a bar, some white sailors from a ship in our task group overheard some local civilian drunks discussing plans for an attack on "that nigger ship down at the dock." Quietly leaving, the sailors returned to their vessel, gathering shipmates en route and alerting the duty section aboard. Without a word to us, they made arrangements for what undoubtedly would have been an annihilation of any attacking force. Fortunately, nothing materialized, but the signficance is there, especially when you consider that no one on our ship even heard of the incident until six months later.

We have had a few unpleasant experiences, all but one caused by civilians, and all, strangely enough, during our first few months of duty. In each case it has turned out that the cause of the trouble did not lie with my men. A typical incident occurred when we were fueling from an oil dock: the manager disliked being advised of the positions of the intake valves by a thoroughly competent Negro engineer. All the incidents were similarly petty but none the less outrageous in terms of human feeling. I confess that they infuriated me far more than they appeared on the surface to hurt my men.

But respect for the U. S. S. PC 1264 has grown. We have done our duty well. We have great pride in our ship, the pride every sailor feels in a smart ship that can respond to the banshee wail of the general alarm and have every gun firing in a matter of seconds. Our pride was enhanced a few weeks ago by the tough inspection made by our frontier commander. In one short day, the inspection board flung problems at us; individual inspectors queried different men about their jobs; simulated battle situations were presented one after another. How the men reacted can best be illustrated by the answer a signalman made to the question: "What do you do when the ship is so badly iced up that the signal lights cannot be operated?" Without a moment's hesitation the signalman replied, "On this ship, sir, we never allow our lights to get in that condition."

The terse summation of the report was the answer to the question whether Negroes can make good seamen: "The response of the crew to Battle Stations and all Emergency Drills was outstanding. . . . The PC 1264 is reported to be in an effective state of readiness." Speaking for myself, I know of no other crew I'd rather have in combat.

In the Wind

REPRIEVE: The August 11 bulletin of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States had this to say about the splitting of the atom: "With the knowledge that this energy cannot at once be used for purposes other than destruction, immediate jeopardy to our economy is not in sight."

PUBLIC RELATIONS: *Tide*, an advertising trade publication, reported in its issue of August 6 that the National Association of Manufacturers, "which abandoned its last advertising campaign after a very short run, is considering a new series on a different subject." The old subject was Private Enterprise. It was dropped in February of this year, after a storm of protests from the public.

VISION: George Coppock of Detroit made this suggestion in a letter to the Windsor, Ontario, *Star* on August 8: "With proper organization and timing, from the bones of the Conservative Party and the futility of the Labor Party the British Fascist Party can come to power. 'Britons, myriad voices call thee, come be wedded each and all into one imperial whole!' There is a slogan for an imperial Fascist Party, a force which can save us from the night of communism. Conservatism is willing but ineffectual. Hail to an imperial Fascist Party! The stalwarts of the empire salute you!"

DRAMA: Harriet Van Horne of the New York *World-Telegram*, doing a post-mortem August 13 on Clare Luce's appearance in "Candida," reported that many rehearsals were held at Mrs. Luce's home. "Now and then, despite good intentions all around, a political note would creep in. Some of the actors were said to have suffered slight indigestion when the hostess—so goes the story—expressed concern over the fate of her old friend, M. Pierre Laval. But generally, everybody, including Candida herself, put up a gallant, nonpartisan front."

DETAIL: The Prague radio reports that at his preliminary questioning Karl Hermann Frank, former Gauleiter of Bohemia and Moravia, said Lidice was exterminated without his knowledge or consent. "Another question was, 'What do you know of the second act of extermination at Lezaky?' He replied that he remembered 'only vaguely.' 'After all,' he said, 'that was only a very small community.' "

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Exit the Marshal

BY FREDERIC POTTECHER

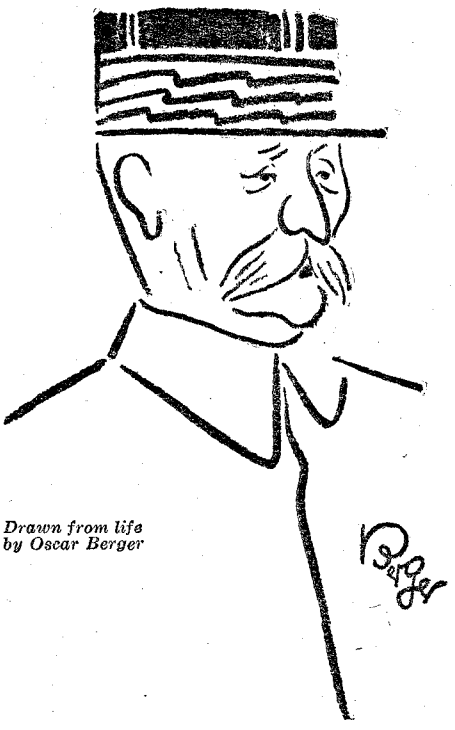
[*M. Pottecher, before the war a member of the staff of* Paris-Soir, *was a prisoner in Germany in 1940; later, after escaping, he became editor of a clandestine newspaper in Corsica. He is at present in charge of shortwave broadcasts beamed from Paris to the Middle East.*]

Paris, August 16 (By cable)

SO HE stands condemned, this man of fine demeanor. But we had heard too much about his blue eyes—blue like France's sky—his military bearing, his shrewd good sense. We heard too much when he reigned in Vichy of his habits of order, his method, his simplicity. We saw it was true during the long sessions of his trial. When he came into the packed chamber of the High Court with his quick step and impeccable marshal's uniform, he lived up to his legend. He took his place in the armchair reserved for him, placed his gloves, his gold-embroidered kepi, and his watch, ten minutes fast, on the little table, and waited. He listened closely, but dozed when the lawyers, witnesses, jurymen, and judges quarreled over a word or a minor point of procedure. So it was during each day of the trial.

His physical appearance, so unequivocal, made his presence the more tragic, for the Pétain trial was a trial of treason veiled with ambiguity. The witnesses for the prosecution were the most important. Reynaud, Daladier, Lebrun, Jeanneney, Herriot, all accused Pétain but had themselves to explain certain of their acts. When they stepped down all was not clear. The affair of the 1940 National Assembly? The coup d'état? The crime against the Republic? The arrest of Mandel? Yes, these facts are known, but agreement on the circumstances is impossible. Ambiguity had its place in the trial from the beginning.

Only Blum destroyed momentarily the Verdun legend. For a moment we felt delivered from the remains of the Pétain myth and hated this man whose blue eyes hid so well his black soul. We looked him in the face again, a face without lines as though cast in a mold of wax, a face that almost resembled the mask of a man already dead. He was listening, still cupping his ear. He had repeatedly denied hearing what was said, but one had the feeling that he heard what he wanted to, although sometimes he seemed to fall asleep. No one could be certain; there was ambiguity even there.



Drawn from life by Oscar Berger

Pétain

When the witnesses for the defense were called to the stand the second act of the drama began. Generals, admirals, former ministers, even Prince François Xavier de Bourbon-Parme, came to proclaim their varying degrees of attachment to "the Marshal." But between the first and second acts an apparition had appeared: Pierre Laval. A frightful spectacle was offered by the two men who then confronted one another: one was for many present the very image of the old and glorious French army—Pétain wore the Médaille Militaire, highest decoration conferred by the Third Republic on general officers—the other the very image of a suspect parliamentarian of the old regime. Laval was indeed the symbol of former parliamentary trash, ugly, flabby, unclean; his singsong voice the more unpleasant for its strong and vulgar regional accent. Laval pleaded neither for nor against Pétain but solely on his own behalf. "I am a good republican," he cried; and again, "I thought the best way to serve my country was to negotiate with the conqueror." He kept harping on his "negotiations." Apparently he believes sincerely that one can negotiate for anything. Honor and national pride are concepts of which Laval is unaware. His testimony was to have been sensational, but it was not.

The Court, awakened by the novelty of his appearance, turned glumly to the witnesses for the defense.

All these military men, and former Vichy ministers, except perhaps De Brinon, are still haunted by the Pétain myth. Certain of them displayed great sincerity. They asserted that the Marshal saved not only France but Russia, America, and the world. The fanatic General Lacaille in particular tried to convince the Court that the Marshal's double game saved North Africa from German occupation which would have prevented Allied landings in Algiers. Lacaille maintained that the Marshal was, therefore, the great artisan of victory. The speciousness of this reasoning is evident. Lacaille, who until recently commanded a division in the army of General de Lattre de Tassigny, was clearly incapable of understanding the meaning of the resistance movement: he could conceive only the supposed "tacit" resistance of Pétain. Thus the question came up of the "official secret army" of which Lacaille and other generals of

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the armistice army were the principal leaders. Questioned closely by the resistance jurors, Lacaille claimed he had cached enough arms to equip twenty-four divisions—"36 milliards' worth," he said. "For what or for whom did these arms serve?" His replies were unsatisfactory. One-third were captured by the Germans, one third may have been used by the Maquis, the rest are still hidden. In any case this general, like so many of his colleagues, clings to the belief that it was an official army with uniforms, cadres, and gold braid which saved France. He said nothing about the real resistance movement, the underground and the men who fought in it. Nor did he admit that the Vichy army did nothing or almost nothing to boot the Germans out of France. But Lacaille, like Prince François de Bourbon-Parme, who was interned in Dachau, like Monsieur Pinelli, former Deputy and municipal councillor of Paris, believes in good faith what he said.

Laval

Again the old ambiguity. Did Pétain really encourage this secret army? It is to be noted in any case that all witnesses for the defense defended chiefly the reactionary caste to which they belong, for it is certain that all the adulators of Pétain, whose patriotism cannot be denied, cling desperately to the Right. France's salvation affects them deeply; democracy's not at all. This is why they refuse to believe Pétain could have betrayed his country.

The prosecuting attorney general's indictment brought us out of these fictions back to realm of truth. He asked for the death penalty knowing what he risked by so doing, for like the resistance jurors he had received letters threatening him with death if Pétain should be condemned, letters signed "Franc-Garde du Maréchal." The indictment was precise, dignified, well thought out. So was the first speech for the defense delivered by M. Payen. There was a conspiracy against the Republic, said Attorney General Mornet. There was no conspiracy, retorted M. Payen. Again it is slightly ambiguous. M. Lemaire, third attorney for the defense, used another method; with wide gestures and in a loud voice he tried to play upon the emotions of the jurors. Unfortunately for him the jurors were former Maquisards, former F. F. I. section-leaders—not very sentimental. Next day M. Payen delivered his second speech, this time defending Vichy's foreign policy. His colleague, M. Isorni, second attorney for the the defense, endeavored to justify Pétain's internal policies. It was a clever job but still unconvincing. The president of the High Court, M. Mongibeaux, magnificent in red robes and ermine cape, smiled. His sentiments were easy to guess. As for Pétain, although remaining impassive he started once when he thought the defense had given up trying but quickly fell back to his enigmatic silence. At nine o'clock last Tuesday evening the defense rested its case. Defendant, judges, jurors, everyone was thoroughly tired. The jury's deliberations were about to begin. All eyes were fixed on Pétain. Will he speak? Pétain, who was thought to be at the end of his strength, rose and spoke. Once again he declared that his conscience was clear and that he believed he had served France well.

After seven hours of deliberation the jurors returned with the verdict. Pétain listened to their judgment but did not hear the words, "is condemned to the penalty of death, to national unworthiness, and to the confiscation of his worldly goods." He was led out and in the early hours of Wednesday morning one of the world's great trials was over. Today he occupies a cell, once Georges Mandel's, in the Fortress of Portalet in the Pyrenees. Since the jury recommended leniency Pétain will probably not be executed, but he has disappeared for good. Do those who were his followers realize now the wrong he did to France? It is not at all sure they do, for the Pétain legend even now has not been entirely extirpated.

German Unions Under Military Government

[*Reprinted from* The Tribune, *London, July 27, 1945.*]

EVIDENCE is accumulating on the extent to which German trade-union committees and Socialist and Communist groups survived the Hitler regime and the war. And the survival is on a far larger scale than official handouts and newspaper correspondents have led us to believe. Such groups have been found in literally all cities and industrial centers within the Anglo-American zone of occupation, and in many cases they have proved to be surprisingly coherent and well organized.

The trade-union committees consist generally of local pre-Hitler trade-union officials and shop stewards. Most of the latter were blacklisted and lost their jobs when the Nazis came to power; many of them spent long periods in jails and concentration camps. Those who remained free managed to eke out a precarious existence in new occupations— as soap or tobacco vendors, as gardeners, street cleaners, and the like. But throughout the years of the Hitler regime and the war they succeeded not only in maintaining local contacts with one another but in many cases even in maintaining national contacts.

In Frankfurt, for instance, thirty-five former trade-union officials were found to have survived and to have made full preparations for the reorganization of the unions. Of their former colleagues, 139 were killed either by the Nazis or by our bombs. A number of the survivors maintained secret contacts with the Berlin underground center of the Metal Workers' Union until as late as last September. Many of them had been closely associated with Leuschner in the preparation for the abortive attempt on Hitler's life a year ago.

Most of these men were former members of the free

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trade unions, but some of them come from the Catholic unions or the (democratic non-socialist) Hirsch-Duncker unions. They had already decided, at a secret conference held two years ago, that in the future post-Hitler Germany there should be a single non-political and non-denominational trade organization with membership open to all workers, employees, and civil servants.

Extensive and detailed plans have been worked out for the reorganization of the new united trade-union organizations and for the re-acquisition of the large funds, properties, and subsidiary organizations (such as workers' savings banks, building societies, etc.) which the Nazis stole from the unions. Whether or not any of these plans can be carried into practice depends, however, almost exclusively on the decisions of Allied Military Government.

In the absence of an agreed and sane Allied policy for Germany, a great deal is left to the discretion of the Military Government officers on the spot; and almost everything depends on the hazards of their individual ability, understanding, and political inclination. The result is their encouragement of trade-union reorganization in some areas and the gravest discouragement, if not actual suppression, in others.

In one case it happened that the pre-Nazi chairman of the shop-steward organization of one big factory—who throughout the last twelve years had maintained contact with the workers there although he was fired in 1933—approached the managing director of that firm on V-E Day plus one with the request that all Nazis in his firm should be immediately dismissed. He handed the managing director, who was not a Nazi, a list of 700 people—workers and clerks as well as managers—who were all active Party members. The managing director immediately complied and reinstated the old shop-steward leader. Military Government officers were unaware of what had happened until many weeks later.

In other cases, by contrast, Nazi managers and owners of factories, now working for the Military Government at reduced capacity, exploit this position systematically to dismiss leading anti-Nazi workers who have come into the open. And they suffer no interference from Military Government officers. The blackest spots in this respect are Bavaria, in the American zone, where a totally reactionary Catholic regime has been installed and all progressive anti-Nazi movements suppressed; and Westphalia, in the British zone.

The situation in Westphalia is particularly serious because of its importance as a coal-mining area. The chance of survival in the coming winter of probably millions of men and women all over Europe will depend, to a large extent, on our capacity to revive German coal production. Yet the rich Ruhr mines in Westphalia are producing very little coal, although they are technically more or less intact.

There are two chief reasons for this. One is the physical weakness of the miners, who are too hungry to be able to do much work. The other reason is their unwillingness to continue work under the hated Nazi owners and managers. There have been several miners' strikes since May, not against the occupation authorities, but against the Nazi bosses who continue to function as colliery managers under British protection. Chiefly responsible for this state of affairs is Lieutenant Colonel Thompson—known among his colleagues as Colonel "Blimp" Thompson—who has been put in charge of labor administration in Westphalia. His qualicatifion as administrator of miners and mining problems probably derives from his pre-war speculations in gold-mining shares.

The vast majority of the Ruhr miners have remained staunchly anti-Nazi. Many of them were known to the Nazi authorities as anti-Nazis, but they remained at liberty because they were indispensable to the German war effort. Many of them had their labor books stamped by the Nazis with the word *Wehrunwürdig*. That meant they were too dangerous politically to be allowed or forced to join the army. So strictly were they supervised that they were not allowed even to visit a friend or relative without previous permission from the police or without a Nazi escort. Yet now, after the Nazi defeat, they are supposed to work under the same bosses who were responsible for and organized their oppression.

It is certainly wrong that the job of dealing with such problems is left to various military Blimps who know nothing whatever about labor problems. The Americans have at least some trade unionists among their Military Government officials who deal with these questions, whereas, to our knowledge, there is not a single British trade unionist attached to the Military Government in the British zone. It is true that officers on the spot can deal only with local problems and have no influence on Allied over-all policy; but they could at least prevent such absurd and dangerous decisions as that originally made by the aforementioned Lieutenant Colonel Thompson, who wanted to ban all but the Catholic trade unions because, in his opinion, these were the only "non-political" ones.

There are even more serious issues at stake. Allied military authorities are at present considering plans to reinstate the big Ruhr industrialists as owners and responsible managers of their properties—men like Krupp, Stinnes, Thyssen, and others whose names have become symbols all over the world of German war-mongering and imperialism, of treachery and ruthless exploitation. If we want to smear the good name of Britain beyond repair this is exactly what we should do. If we want to make sure of a coal crisis in Germany—with all its consequences to Europe this winter—we could indeed not do better than to reinstate Thyssen and Krupp and Stinnes.

COMING IN *THE NATION*

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THE NEW FRONTIERS OF SCIENCE

By J. D. Bernal, F.R.S

One of Britain's most distinguished scientists discusses the scientific and social implications of the atomic revolution.

CALIFORNIA LOOKS TO 1946

By Carey McWilliams

***The Nation's* West Coast correspondent reports on the end of "the Hiram Johnson era" and reviews the interesting collection of candidates mentioned for the Senate election next year, including Orson Welles and Colonel Evans Carlson of "Carlson's Raiders."**

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BOOKS and the ARTS

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

BY LIONEL TRILLING

"So be it! I die content and my destiny is fulfilled," said Racine's Orestes; and there is more in his speech than the insanely bitter irony that appears on the surface. Racine, fully conscious of this tragic grandeur, permits Orestes to taste for a moment before going mad with grief, the supreme joy of a hero: to assume his *exemplary* role.

THIS heroic self-awareness—André Gide speaks of it in his essay on Goethe—was granted to Scott Fitzgerald for what grim joy he might find in it. And perhaps it is a seal set upon his heroic status that he could utter his vision of his own fate, publicly and aloud and in *Esquire,* not only with no lessening but even with an enhancement of his dignity. Edmund Wilson has gathered together the several essays in which Fitzgerald examined his life in crisis and has published them, together with Fitzgerald's notebooks and some letters, as well as certain tributes and memorabilia, in a volume called, after one of the essays, "The Crack-Up."* It is a book filled with the grief of the lost and the might-have-been, with physical illness and torture of mind. Yet the heroic quality is so much here that it occurs to us to say, and not merely as something we would like to feel, but as the true expression of what we actually do feel:

> Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
> Or knock the breast, no weakness, no contempt,
> Dispraise, or blame, nothing but well and fair,
> And what may quiet us in a death so noble.

It is not what we may fittingly say on all tragic occasions, but the original occasion for these words is strikingly apt to Fitzgerald. Like Milton's Samson, he had the consciousness of having misused a gift of strength—"I had been only a mediocre caretaker . . . of my talent." And the parallel carries further, to the sojourn among the Philistines and even to the maimed hero exhibited and mocked for the amusement of the crowd—readers of the New York *Evening Post* of September 25, 1936, will remember a front-page feature story in which the sick and incoherent Fitzgerald was "interviewed" in a Southern nursing home, and they will find a special pleasure in the recovered poise and fortitude which marked Fitzgerald's words in the few but vindicated years that were left to him.

The root of Fitzgerald's heroism is to be found, as it often is in tragic heroes, in his power of love. Fitzgerald wrote much about love, he was preoccupied with it, but it is not merely where he is being explicit about it that his power appears. It is to be seen where eventually all a writer's qualities have their true existence, in his style. Even in Fitzgerald's early, cruder books, or even in his commercial stories, and even when the style is careless, there is a tone and pitch to the sentences which suggest his warmth and tenderness and, what is rare nowadays, his mildness without softness. In the equipment of the moralist and therefore in the equipment of the novelist, aggression plays an important part, and although it is of course sanctioned by the writer's moral intention and whatever truth of moral view he may have, it is often none the less fierce and even cruel. Fitzgerald was a moralist to the core—his desire to "preach at people in some acceptable form" is the reason he gives for not going the way of Cole Porter and Rogers and Hart: let us always remember how many real choices he was free and forced to make—and he was gifted with the satiric eye, yet we feel of him that he is more drawn to the celebration of the good than to the destruction of the bad. The satire is there, the attack is made. But Fitzgerald, we feel, did not attach himself to the good because that attachment would sanction his fierceness toward the bad; his first impulse was to love the good—and we feel this the more surely because we must be aware that he loved the good not only with his mind but also with his quick senses and his youthful pride.

He had but small impulse to blame. "Forbearance, good word," is one of the jottings in his notebook. When it came to blame, he preferred, it seems, to blame himself. He even did not much want to blame the world. Fitzgerald knew where "the world" was at fault. He knew that it was the condition, the field, of tragedy. He is always conscious of "what preyed on Gatsby, what foul dust floated in the wake of his dreams." But he never made out that the world imposes tragedy, either upon the heroes of his novels, whom he called his "brothers," or upon himself. When he speaks of his own fate, he does indeed connect it with the nature of the social world in which he had his early flowering, but he never finally lays it upon that world, even though at the time that he was most aware of his destiny it was fashionable with minds more pretentious than his to lay all personal difficulty whatever at the door of the "social order." It is *his* fate—and as much as to anything else in Fitzgerald, we respond to the delicate tension he maintained between the sense of personal free will and the sense of circumstance: we respond to that moral energy. ". . . The test of a first-rate intelligence," he said, "is the ability to hold two opposed ideas in the mind, at the same time, and still retain the ability to function."

The power of love in Fitzgerald, then, went hand in hand with a sense of personal responsibility and perhaps created it. But it often happens that the tragic hero can conceive and realize a love that is beyond his own prudence or beyond his power of dominance, so that he is destroyed by the very thing that gives him status and stature. From Proust we know about a love that is destructive by its corrosive nature. But from Fitzgerald's two mature novels, "The Great Gatsby" and "Tender Is the Night," we learn of a love—perhaps, in its ideal, peculiarly American—that is destructive by its tenderness. It begins in romance, sentiment, even "glamor"—no one, I think, has remarked how innocent of mere "sex," how charged with sentiment is Fitzgerald's description of

* The Crack-Up. By F. Scott Fitzgerald. With other Uncollected Pieces, Note-Books and Unpublished Letters, Together with Letters to Fitzgerald from Gertrude Stein, Edith Wharton, T. S. Eliot, Thomas Wolfe, and John Dos Passos, and Essays and Poems by Paul Rosenfeld, Glenway Wescott, John Dos Passos, John Peale Bishop, and Edmund Wilson. Edited by Edmund Wilson. New Directions. $3.50.

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love in the jazz age—and it takes upon itself reality and permanence and duty discharged with an almost masochistic scrupulousness of honor. In bright dreams begins the responsibility which needs so much prudence and dominance to sustain; and Fitzgerald would seem not to have been a prudent man and he tells us that at a certain point in his college career "some old desire for personal dominance was broken and gone." He connects that loss of dominance with his ability to write and he set down in his notebook the belief that "to record one must be unwary."

The phrase from Yeats, the connection of the "dreams" with the "responsibility," reminds us that we must guard against dismissing, with easy words about its immaturity, Fitzgerald's preoccupation with the bright charm of his youth; for Yeats himself, a wiser man and wholly fulfilled, kept to the last of his old age his connection with his vanity of youth. A writer's days must be "bound each to each" by his sense of his life, and Fitzgerald the undergraduate was father of the best in the man and the novelist.

His sojourn among the Philistines is always much in the mind of everyone who thinks about Fitzgerald and indeed it was always much in his own mind. Everyone knows the famous exchange between Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway (Hemingway refers to it in his story, The Snows of Kilimanjaro, and Fitzgerald records it in his notebook) in which, to Fitzgerald's remark, "The very rich are different from us," Hemingway replied, "Yes, they have more money." It is usually supposed that Hemingway had the better of the exchange and quite settled the matter. But we ought not to be too sure. The novelist of a certain kind, if he is to write about social life, must always risk a certain ambiguity in his social attitudes. The novel took its rise from a sense of a disrupted society and from the interpenetration of classes, and the novelist must still live by his sense of class differences and must be absorbed by them, as Fitzgerald was, even though he despise them, as Fitzgerald did.

But the "very rich" were more for Fitzgerald than a field of social observation. They were all the aristocracy that America could offer him and we cannot be too simple about what a critic has recently noted, the artist's frequent "taste for aristocracy, his need—often quite open—of a superior social class with which he can make some fraction of common cause—enough, at any rate, to account for his own distinction." And despite the immunity to all worldly considerations which is of course the free privilege of every reader, must we not admit that there is a special charm in the writers who snatched at social establishment, in those risen gentlemen, Shakespeare and Dickens, in those fabricators of the honorific "de," Voltaire and Balzac? Their snobbery—let us call it that—is of a large and generous kind and we cannot be entirely wrong in connecting their peculiar energies of mind in creation with whatever it was they wanted from gentility or aristocracy. Yeats, to mention him again, spoke of the falseness of the belief that the "inherited glory of the rich" really holds richness of life—"Mere dreams! mere dreams!" he said:

> Yet Homer had not sung
> Had he not found it certain beyond dreams
> That out of life's own self-delight had sprung
> The abounding glittering jet. . . .

And Henry James, at the threshhold of his career, allegorized in his story, Benvolio, the interplay that is necessary for some artists between their creative asceticism and the bright, free, gay world, noting at the same time the desire of the bright world to destroy the asceticism.

With a man like Goethe the balance between the world and his asceticism is maintained, and so we forgive him his often absurd feelings (but perhaps absurd only in the light of our present opinion of his assured genius) about aristocracy. Fitzgerald could not always keep the balance true; he was not, as I have said, a prudent man. And no doubt he deceived himself a good deal in his youth, but certainly his self-deception was not in the interests of vulgarity, for aristocracy meant to him a kind of distinction of personal existence which, presumably, he was so humble as not to expect from his art. That this was so we can learn from the hero of one of his *Saturday Evening Post* stories for whom "it was not so bad—except that when the infantry came limping back from the trenches he wanted to be one of them. The sweat and mud they wore seemed only one of those ineffable symbols of aristocracy that were forever eluding him."

I am aware that I have involved Fitzgerald with a great many great names and that it might be felt by some that this can do Fitzgerald no service, the disproportion being so large. But I think the disproportion will seem large only to those who think of Fitzgerald chiefly through his early, public legend of heedlessness; those who have a clear recollection of the mature work or who have read "The Crack-Up" will at least not think of the disproportion as one of kind. Fitzgerald himself did not, and it is by a man's estimate of himself that we must begin to estimate him. For all the engaging self-deprecation which was part of his peculiarly American charm, he put himself, in all modesty, in the line of greatness, he judged himself in a large way. When he writes of his depression, of his "dark night of the soul" where "it is always three o'clock in the morning," he adduces Wordsworth, Keats, and Shelley. A novel with Ernest Hemingway as the model of its hero suggests to him Stendhal portraying the Byronic man, and he defends "The Great Gatsby" from some stricture of Edmund Wilson's by comparing it with "The Brothers Karamazov." Or again, here is the stuff of his intellectual pride at the very moment that he speaks of giving it up as he had given up the undergraduate dreams of valor: "The old dream of being an entire man in the Goethe-Byron-Shaw tradition . . . has been relegated to the junk heap of the shoulder pads worn for one day on the Princeton freshman football field and the overseas cap never worn overseas." And it was by no means, in its magnitude, an unjustified dream. To take but one great name, the one that on first appearance seems the least likely—between Goethe at twenty-four with "Werther" and Fitzgerald at twenty-four with "This Side of Paradise" there is really not so entire a difference as piety and textbooks might make us think, both young men so handsome and ridiculously successful, both rather more interested in life than in art, each the spokesman and symbol of his restless young generation.

It is now twenty years since T. S. Eliot said of "The Great Gatsby" that it was "the first step that American fiction has

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taken since Henry James"; and although "Tender Is The Night" is not in every way a success, it is another step and it embodies the great conception of the novel to a degree that few American books can match. To read the notebooks that Fitzgerald kept—indexing them in the manner he had learned from Samuel Butler's—and to perceive how closely they make us apply our mind to our life, or to read his letters to his daughter (they are among the best and most affecting letters I know) and hear his tone as he writes about literature, the tone of a master among equals, is to be happily sure of his quality.

He lacked prudence, as his heroes did, lacked that blind instinct of self-protection which the self-fulfilling writer needs and which the American writer seems to need in a double measure. But that is all that he lacked—and it is the generous fault, even the heroic fault. He said of his Gatsby:

> If personality is an unbroken series of successful gestures, then there was something gorgeous about him, some heightened sensitivity to the promises of life, as if he were related to one of those intricate machines that register earthquakes ten thousand miles away. This responsiveness had nothing to do with that flabby impressionability which is dignified under the name of "the creative temperament"—it was an extraordinary gift for hope, a romantic readiness such as I have never found in any other person and which it is not likely I shall ever find again. No—Gatsby turned out all right at the end; it is what preyed on Gatsby, what foul dust floated in the wake of his dreams. . . .

And it is so that we are drawn to see Fitzgerald as he stands in his "exemplary role."

BRIEFER COMMENT

Where Realists Meet

THERE IS ONLY ONE THING WRONG about David J. Dallin's very readable book, "The Big Three" (Yale University Press, $2.75). It is the first paragraph: "There shall not, there must not, be a Third World War. The piled-up corpses already reach the sky," etc. After this outburst of wishful thinking and tear-drenched sentimentality, Dallin reverts to sound realism of the Homer Lea, Halford Mackinder kind: there is nothing in this world but power, and power leads inevitably to armed conflict. The book simply lists a large number of sore spots, each likely to infect the whole body.

Dallin has no remedy to offer. He came to us after a long and tragic experience abroad. He met, I surmise, a number of tough journalists, and maybe a few Yale or Columbia professors, tougher still. They confirmed him in his "muscular" thinking. He does not know us well enough to realize that in due course the people will have the last word, and that the American people want peace and justice, not empire.

The limitations being granted—the book is elementary in thought and information—the presentation of the facts is both fair and clear. Every state is presented in the sharp and morose light of *Realpolitik*, and Russia is no worse than ourselves. *In cauda venenum*: in the conclusion, there is more than a hint that the disturbing element is the U. S. S. R.; and that it is high time for England and America to take up the work of Hitler and Franco, so unfortunately interrupted. But this is a strong hint, not a thesis.

At any rate, it is not the logical conclusion of the book. The final paragraph should be a complete reversal of the first: "There shall be, there must be, a Third World War, and so *ad infinitum*." But the book is thoroughly honest in its narrow way; the style is pleasing, half-way between the journalistic and the historical. As I enjoyed "The Big Three," I should like to close this dubious appraisal with two points which I whole-heartedly indorse (realists of various schools do meet in the end): "Europe needs German industry; without the economy of her most industrialized nation, Europe will be the poorer." "The predominance of the Big Three cannot be durable. A wartime combination, it will end soon after the war."

ALBERT GUERARD

Latin-American Writing

AT LEAST SINCE the moment when cultural relations with South American countries became of official interest to the American government, it has been considered a sign of intellectual immaturity to talk of the Southern continent as a whole. The recognized mark of wisdom in these matters has become an insistence upon differentiation between the various nations. Not only do the knowing refrain from mentioning Mexico and Argentina in the same breath, they even distinguish between types of folk songs, for instance, in such neighboring microcosms as Honduras and Costa Rica, or between the development of prose styles in Colombia and Ecuador.

Now comes the distinguished scholar Pedro Henríquez-Ureña and reverses the process in his "synthetic" history, "Literary Currents in Hispanic America" (Harvard, $3.50) which his publisher sub-titles "A cultural survey of Latin America from the time of the Conquistadores to the present." Perhaps because Señor Henríquez-Ureña was born offshore, in the small island republic of Santo Domingo, he prefers to look at the Latin-American portion of the hemisphere whole. Even the fact of its two languages, Spanish and Portuguese, fails to shake his calm consideration of its literary currents in terms of "our America," "our literature," "our development." Separate countries he treats as chance geographic units whose borders are matters of historical accident. The important thing to him is their common Hispanic background and the currents related to a common "search for expression."

The result of this heresy is an urbane, scholarly, and seasoned work of a quality hitherto unknown in English writings on this subject. The author treats of Latin-American literature as though it was as much a part of the stream of world literature as anything written in England, France, or Russia. He presents Hispanic-American writers not as clever children or sublime geniuses—two classifications hitherto favorites among critics—but as talented men seeking the forms of expression suited to their needs. His history has form, substance, wit, authority. It gives literature its proper status as a generic part of the development of civilization in the southern hemisphere.

The book is made up of eight lectures delivered at Harvard during the winter of 1940-41, given at the invitation of the university as the Charles Eliot Norton lectures. The

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author then spent two and a half years rewriting them, enlarging their scope, adding valuable notes which form more than a quarter of the book. The fact that the chapters were first written to be read before a specific audience of intelligent and literate listeners may be responsible for a certain directness, vigor, and simplicity of address which are too seldom found in books on this subject.

Perhaps, considering all that Don Pedro has given us here, it is ungrateful to ask for more. Yet this book, with its sound background, broad vision, and brilliant understanding, merely whets one's appetite. MILDRED ADAMS

The Conditions of Peace

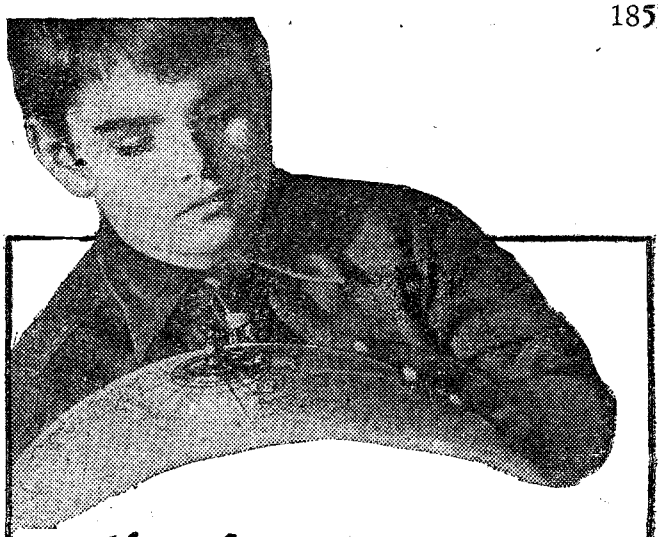
"TOTAL WAR AND THE HUMAN MIND," by Major A. M. Meerloo (International Universities Press, $1.75), is another of the *Ersatz* miscellanies that the war has produced; but, aside from its extreme brevity, it has a good deal to recommend it. The major, a medical officer in the Dutch army, was in Holland during two of the agonizing years of German occupation, and his book is a mixture of reminiscences, exhortations, and rather interesting reflections on the psychological aspects of the war. He has nothing particularly new to say, and he cannot in such brief compass deal adequately with any of the topics he treats. He furthermore goes in on occasion for the self-assured, dogmatic oversimplification that mars so much psychiatry. Nevertheless he writes for the most part with the clarity, simplicity, and temperateness that denote an exceptional command of one's subject; and he offers a number of salutary reminders: "The criminal hankers after his own punishment. . . . If this is applied to Germany, the inference must follow that before there can be any question of reformation or reeducation, there must be punishment. . . . The world [may be] lost through the vicious circle in which fear inspires aggressiveness, aggressiveness brings a sense of guilt, and guilt seeks an outlet in more aggressiveness."

Major Meerloo seems to subscribe to William James's view that the best way to learn about the normal is to study the abnormal, for he says that "to the psychologist abnormal circumstances are in the nature of experiments which history applies to humanity." The experimental situation is of necessity—that is, by definition—an abnormal one, and it is obviously true, however regrettable, that war is the best lesson in the nature and conditions of peace. The Major steps out of character, therefore, when he quotes some Dutch lawyer to the effect that "one should at no time discuss the law with a criminal." Prudent as it is, this is hardly in the spirit of James, nor is it consistent with the Major's commitment to "science."

If the book has a thesis, it is the astute, highly liberal one that the best mithridate against fanatical or obsessive behavior of any sort is the maximum voluntary intercourse of free people; for "when thinking is isolated and can no longer expand, delusion may follow." The book should be read on that account alone. MARTIN LEBOWITZ

Roadway to Brooklyn

IN "THE BUILDERS OF THE BRIDGE" (Harcourt, Brace, $3.50) D. D. Steinman tells the story of one of the



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seven wonders of the world with easy-to-read authority. Since he is an accomplished engineer himself, Mr. Steinman is in a position to appreciate the work of John A. Roebling and his son August and their almost insurmountable difficulties in building the Brooklyn Bridge. In addition, there are enough photographs, drawings, and engravings to make an interesting visual commentary on the great amount of material gathered. J. S.

Farmers and Industry

THE PROBLEM of food and farmers is admittedly difficult and complicated. The public mind has been confused by the behavior of the farm bloc, in wartime and earlier, and by the crop-reduction program of the government when faced by the severity of the great depression. For crop reduction in the face of hunger is one of the curious phenomena of our scarcity economics. In "The Farmer and the Rest of Us" (Atlantic Monthly Press Book, Little, Brown, $2.50) Arthur Moore goes to the root of the matter, bringing considerable order into the growing popular discussion of food and agriculture.

"The Farmer and the Rest of Us" is based on the assumption that farming is making its adjustments to the predominantly industrial culture of today, and because of this overall concept of the problem, the book comes clean on such difficult matters as the relation between farmers and organized labor, the wasteful and destructive use of soil resources in America, our growing tenancy, the growth of bigness on the one hand and poverty on the other, and the sense of insecurity among farm people even under the conditions of wartime profits. As a farmer I began Mr. Moore's book with a good many misgivings. I felt his judgments would be based too largely on his experience among the large corn growers of Illinois, and that he would see the situation in terms of price and profits as does the leadership of the farm organizations to which these growers often belong. I have finished it, however, feeling that Mr. Moore has presented not only a very fair and reasonable discussion of the farm problem in modern America, but an exceedingly provocative one.

The author asks the question: "Shall we learn to balance our food account with our permanent resources, land and human?" We must develop a permanent agriculture if we are to feed ourselves adequately and remain a great nation. And I take it he means by a permanent agriculture not only a system of farming the land which will maintain its fertility, but likewise an integration of the rural and urban people in an industrial society which will bring them security and a higher standard of life.

Mr. Moore knows that this will not be easy to achieve, and he goes into a great many phases of the problem from public policy to a discussion of the farm organizations as pressure groups. His viewpoint is from the city and he is talking to city people in the main about a subject on which there is need for understanding. Moreover, the clear, easy, and lively style of the book should make it available to a large number of Americans who know now, after their war experience, that food is important and, for a great complexity of reasons, often difficult to get.

P. ALSTON WARING

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Without the Law

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS'S "Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace" (Harcourt, Brace, $2) is timely and important in that it draws attention to a problem which has received far too little attention from liberals and which, one feels, was given scant attention at San Francisco and preceding United Nations conferences. There can be no secure foundation for peace, the author argues, unless the rights of colonial peoples are given effective status. It is not simply a question of supporting all national struggles for independence, but of deliberately and freely granting constructive aid to the colonial peoples so tha they may become truly free. A simple maintenance of the old hypocritical mandates policy would be fatal.

Dr. Du Bois argues with much cogency, though many of his statements, as isolated assertions, are unacceptable to this reviewer. The author's indeterminate philosophy is responsible for this. He addresses himself to the reader in two polemical languages, one inflected by the author's warm and somewhat uncritical admiration for the U. S. S. R. and its policies, the other being the natural language of a vigorous, non-revolutionary liberal of native stock. But this criticism should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the book's message is fundamental, not merely to an honest liberalism but to any lasting solution of the problem of war and peace.

RALPH BATES

Milton and Eliot

T. S. ELIOT AND HIS SATELLITES effected a revolution in taste as well as poetry. In the last few years such assured stars as Goethe and Milton have paled under the glorification of Dante and Donne. Goethe is called a great man who aside from a few lyrics did little to prove it, and Milton is said to have manufactured beautiful music around a mythology that should have stayed in the Book of Genesis. Douglas Bush in "Paradise Lost in Our Time" (Cornell University, $2) analyzes some of the reasons for this and gives us a critical defense of Milton.

The book is in part a polemic against Eliot. In the first place, modernist taste for metaphysical poetry, "poetry which simultaneously embraces diverse planes of experience," is chiefly an apologetic for modernist poetry, which attempts the same thing. Certainly Eliot's poetry needs no such apology, and why, Mr. Bush asks, does appreciation of one kind

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of poetry demand rejection of another? Many modern poets, Allen Tate and John Crowe Ransom, for example, have expressed a great admiration for Milton, and Eliot himself coupled Milton and Shakespeare as our two greatest poets.

In the second place, the anti-Miltonists reject "Paradise Lost" because upon misreading it they find its morality and theology odious. It all starts with Satan's first speech, which a satanic modern society interprets as a bit of magnificent heroism. Mr. Bush insists that quite the contrary is true. Satan is not a hero but the seven deadly sins personified. Perhaps Milton thought so, but to me Satan is a tragic hero despite Mr. Bush's careful textual analysis to prove the contrary. That kind of analysis is a dangerous thing anyway; it reminds me of—I think it was Samuel Butler, who proved that Lucy Grey was someone Wordsworth had murdered.

I must take issue with Mr. Bush on another, more important point. One of the leaders of the anti-Milton movement is Ezra Pound. Mr. Bush uses this as a weapon in Milton's defense with a syllogism that runs something like this: Ezra Pound hates Milton, Ezra Pound is a fascist, therefore Milton is good. Mr. Bush should be ashamed of himself. That Pound is a foolish man politically has nothing to do with the fact that he is an astute critic and one of the major poets of our time.

For the most part the book is intelligent, healthy counter-criticism to the current praise for the modern metaphysical school of poetry.

JOHN SENIOR

FICTION IN REVIEW

ROBERT HENRIQUES, author of "No Arms, No Armour" and "The Voice of the Trumpet," has a new novel, "Home Fires Burning" (Viking, $2.50), about the post-war world. It is a theme we can no doubt expect to see explored very frequently in fiction, now that hostilities cease. But as a matter of fact, Mr. Henriques's story doesn't even wait on the termination of hostilities to set the wheels of domestic trouble in motion: victory is still only in sight when his England faces the difficulties of adjusting her fighting population to her civilians, her civilians to her fighters. The main thread of the novel is concerned with the reunion of a nice girl, Jane, a war nurse, with her childhood sweetheart, David Sloane, a distinguished writer before the war and a distinguished soldier in the war—until he was shot in the leg and head. The leg wound has healed but the head wound has laid bare the other side of David's personality; a brain concussion turns a seeming liberal into a dangerous fascist, and it is the point, of course, of Mr. Henriques's book that the returning troops are potential fascist material. Happily, at the end of the story, a sounder political thinking than David's is shown to prevail—that of David's unglamorous brother, Robert, and of Bill, the natural leader of the four returned soldiers with whom Jane has taken up on a railway platform. Of this symbolical quartet (they remind us of the drifting spirits that people a Prokosch novel), only another head-wound case is willing to follow David, but we are given to understand that even the mentally ill will also eventually prefer the direction of the Roberts and Bills of England to that of the Davids.

What Critics Say about "Conspiracy in ALGIERS"

"'Conspiracy in Algiers' . . . is the most complete and informative report we have yet had. And though it reads like a detective story with bizarre plots and counter-plots and as fine an assortment of rogues, condottieri and ignoramouses as you are likely to find in a dozen books of fiction, Mme. Gosset manages skillfully to keep the emphasis in her book on the political significance of the events she describes. . . . For a dollar, it is the buy of the season."

WILLIAM L. SHIRER
N. Y. *Herald Tribune*, Aug. 12, 1945

"This book is the first to explain what really went on in Algiers. Why was Darlan brought to the spot? Why was he allowed to order resistance of American troops? Why was he condoned as the scion of Vichy? Why was he allowed the privilege of not only saving his neck, but ruling North Africa when every sane citizen expected him to be shot for a double traitor the morning after the landing? President Truman should read this book and act."

STERLING NORTH
New York *Post*, Aug. 2, 1945

"The war has provided some examples of pretty good history written at full gallop. 'Conspiracy in Algiers' belongs in any selection, whether for readability or for content."

EDWIN H. BLANCHARD
New York *Sun*, July 27, 1945

"As a novel the story Renée Gosset tells in 'Conspiracy in Algiers' would seem incredible. As history, spiced with gossip and Gaullic wit, it is at once convincing and important. . . . Robert Murphy is today directing American policy in Germany. That gives Mme. Gosset's story, so excitingly and intimately told, more than dramatic significance. I hope President Truman and Secretary Byrnes read it."

LEWIS GANNETT
New York *Herald Tribune*, July 26, 1945

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So brief a synopsis of "Home Fires Burning" is sufficient to indicate, I think, its diagrammatic program—its proper democratic intention and its not very fresh approach to a persisting political problem. In itself, program writing of this sort is not to my fictional taste, and I find even less attractive the over-poetical atmosphere in which Mr. Henriques projects his problem—the fancies of prose and the tangle of time-sequences which is a device for suggesting complications of thought which aren't actually there. Nor do Mr. Henriques's observations upon the mood of the homecoming soldiers coincide with my own admittedly limited observation of their emotional temper. It is not at all my experience that the returned soldier is bitterly antagonistic to civilians or lawless in his personal social behavior; quite the contrary, he seems to me only to be modestly eager to resume his place in the world he left behind. And although I can easily imagine divergences from this observed attitude, my imagination is not fortified by either Mr. Henriques's particularizations or his implied generalizations.

DIANA TRILLING

CONTRIBUTORS

LIONEL TRILLING, assistant professor of English at Columbia University, is the author of "Matthew Arnold" and "E. M. Forster."

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

INCREASING age has not affected Toscanini's powers as conductor and musician. Not only did last year's performances with the N. B. C. Symphony have the same unique qualities of sharpness of contour, exquisite inflection of phrase, transparency of texture, and organic coherence, but some of them, like the one of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony, showed further development and reached new heights of effectiveness and power. And at the New York Philharmonic Pension Fund concert—at which he chose to repeat the program of his very first concert with the orchestra in 1926 and his last Thursday-Friday pair in 1936—it was, miraculously, as though one were sitting in Carnegie Hall in January, 1926, or April, 1936, and hearing what one had heard then, but with the wonderful qualities of the performances even more wonderful than they had been. The mercurial darting about of Haydn's mind in the finale of the "Clock" Symphony was pointed up by even greater sharpness of inflection; the organic proportions of the Siegfried's Death music from "Götterdämmerung" were molded in a way that achieved an even more shattering climax.

Also one heard again the great New York Philharmonic Orchestra of 1936, miraculously brought to life for this one concert. And in this way Toscanini once more proved Virgil Thomson's statements about the Philharmonic to be the fantastic nonsense they have been.

It was Thomson's contention, in 1941, that the Philharmonic musicians had been "so thoroughly guest-conducted for twenty years now that they have become temperamental, erratic"; and the "twenty years now" made it clear that he did not mean only what had happened in 1940-41, when Barbirolli, after three seasons as full-time permanent conductor, had shared the season with Bruno Walter, Mitropoulos, and Damrosch, or what was going to happen in 1941-42, when the season would be shared by Barbirolli, Stokowski, Walter, Rodzinski, Mitropoulos, Fritz Busch, Koussevitsky, Damrosch, and Goossens. No, Thomson meant the years when the orchestra had been conducted for long periods of the season by Mengelberg and Furtwängler, then by Mengelberg and Toscanini; even the few years when it had been conducted for twenty weeks of the season by Toscanini. And his contention was that not even Toscanini, conducting the orchestra for ten years, anywhere from ten to twenty weeks each year, had been able to mold it into an instrument expressive of himself, to impose on it a discipline, a style, an individuality which it would retain, as did Stokowski's Philadelphia or Koussevitzky's Boston Symphony, when it played under other conductors. Only in the last two years, Thomson has maintained recently, has this been achieved at last by Rodzinski.

Now Toscanini's recordings with the New York Philharmonic give evidence of his having made it an instrument expressive of himself; for they reproduce the characteristic and unique contours, inflections, and textures that are to be heard in any performance of his with any orchestra. But with no orchestra that he has conducted since 1936—not even with the greatest of them, the Philadelphia—has he produced the Toscanini style raised to the point of sheer incandescence that one hears in his recorded Philharmonic performances of the Overtures to "Semiramide" and "L'Italiana in Algieri." That is because his years with the Philharmonic created a hand-in-glove relation between them that he has not been able to create to the same degree with any orchestra since—the kind of relation that existed between Stokowski and the Philadelphia and Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony. The Philharmonic was sensitized to Toscanini's direction in exactly the phenomenal way the Philadelphia was to Stokowski's, the Boston Symphony to Koussevitzky's; and under this direction it had a discipline, a style, a sound as individual as those of the Philadelphia under Stokowski, the Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky. True, whenever Toscanini was away the Philharmonic lost its identity in a way that the Philadelphia did not; but that was because in Stokowski's absence the Philadelphia played with a sense of responsibility to its greatness, whereas one could see as well as hear the Philharmonic sit back and take things easy (and if it merely took things easy it was treating the conductor well).

The relation between Toscanini and the Philharmonic was demonstrated in breath-taking fashion in the first minutes of the first rehearsal of the Beethoven Festival in 1942, when he stepped on the podium and with no preliminaries simply began to conduct the orchestra for the first time after six years, and the orchestra at once began to play as though the interval had been only one day—to produce the razor-edge attacks, the radiant sonorities, the transparent textures of balanced woodwinds or strings that his movements had elicited from it in 1936. But even more impressive was the demonstration at the rehearsal of the "Götterdämmerung" music this year. In 1942 he had returned to an orchestra only slightly changed in personnel; in 1945 he was conducting an orchestra in which Rodzinski had made a considerable number of replacements, and which had had two years of drilling by Rodzinski that, according to Thomson, had given it a definite and unchangeable style and individuality; yet consider what happened. Having first devoted a few minutes to working out the cross-rhythm at the climax, and the balance of the wind instruments in the opening chords, Toscanini then simply led the orchestra through the piece, and produced with it every sound and contour of the performance of 1936—quite as though there had been no interval of years, no changes in personnel, no other conductors.

It was his way of saying, as he had said in 1942: "This is *my* orchestra."

Films

JAMES AGEE

IT MAY be unforgivably decadent of me, but I cannot get much excited about incest, nor do I feel that any great victory has been won because a story about incest, "Uncle Harry," has escaped from the Hays office in still fairly recognizable condition. I am, however, definitely excited by watching characters in conflict with themselves and with others; by the beauty, intelligence, and ability of Geraldine Fitzgerald; and by seeing her after years of criminal neglect in a role which, though not by a long way good enough for her, does give her room to move around in and things to do, and ought to guarantee her roles as good or better, from now on. Though he bats his eyes too often, as a sign that he is a simple soul, George Sanders is generally good as Miss Fitzgerald's infantile brother. Ella Raines is very handsome and effective as the woman who tries to make him grow up. I also like Angela Lansbury's mother, Moyna Maggill, as the gentler sister. The small New England town and its inhabitants are well-detailed, too—especially a set of witnesses at the murder trial, and the perfect dressing of Miss Raines' semi-permanent room in the hotel. I imagine the two people

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most to be thanked for so intelligently casting, specifying, and bringing to life this generally superior movie are the producer, Joan Harrison, and the director, Robert Siodmak. Nobody is to be thanked for the asinine ending. But if you will take care to hurry for the nearest exit as soon as Miss Fitzgerald tells her brother that that is the way things are, "Uncle Harry" can be recommended.

"Over 21" is Ruth Gordon's story of the liberal newspaper editor who joined the army and was joined by his wife and his former boss in a crowded and flimsy Miami cottage. Some of the congestion and despair is amusing, especially a catastrophic cocktail party at which the ex-editor tries to entertain his Colonel and the Colonel's two ladies. I don't feel that Irene Dunne has quite the right kind of humor to play the wife, but Alexander Knox is very proficient as the editor, even when he is required to be impossibly silly. Towards the end of the film, resuming his impersonation of Wilson, he reads a most sincere editorial in which the creation of the post-war world is compared with the creation of an apple pie. In either undertaking, if disaster is to be averted, all the ingredients have got to be good. Since all the world is not apple pie, but is composed of atoms which have just begun to learn that they are many, and that we are few, I found this editorial unbearably discouraging.

"Bewitched," which is derived from an Arch Oboler radio play, is Oboler's first movie. It is a melodrama about double personality, and uses mental voices and dialogue as profusely as if it were on the air. When these interior voices are expressive, carefully timed, and counterpointed with any discretion whatever, Oboler manages the first persuasive imitations of stream-of-consciousness I know of in a movie. Much more often, he bores to desperation with the vulgarity and mere violence of his "effects." As a moving picture "Bewitched" is at moments vigorous and at all times essentially lifeless. But the sensitiveness and charm of Phyllis Thaxter and the honesty and force of Horace McNally make it worth seeing.

I must apologize for postponing even the attempt to review "The Story of G. I. Joe"; the secondary radiations of the atomic bomb render me still unfit to consider a piece of work I so deeply admire. My apologies also for careless proof-reading, meaning none at all. The Nils Esther mentioned in the issue of August 11 is, of course, Nils Asther.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Jim-Crowed Heroes

Dear Sirs: Captain Charles L. Thomas, commander of a tank-destroyer contingent, is the first Negro officer to be awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for extraordinary heroism in action. He holds an air pilot's license and when he gets out of the army intends to study mechanical engineering in order to become an aeronautical engineer. But it's almost certain he won't get a job unless the federal Permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee bill is passed. It is not now the practice of the airline companies to hire Negroes as pilots or engineers, or indeed in any other capacity than as porters.

I wonder whether Captain Thomas's white fellow citizens will help make it possible for him and others like him to have a fair chance at decent jobs in the post-war world. If so, we will need the full-employment bill as well as the Permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee bill. Thus far both are stalled in the mazes of Congressional opposition such as that voiced by Senator "Dear Dago" Bilbo.

CONSUELO C. YOUNG
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

New York, July 27

Foremen and the U. A. W.

Dear Sirs:

Irving Richter's article, Detroit Plans for Chaos, in the June 30 issue of *The Nation,* is uninformed on a very vital point. Mr. Richter states:

> The General Motors Corporation has recently issued to all its foremen an order which strikes at the heart of established procedure for collective bargaining. The order requires the foreman to refuse to call a union committeeman to hear an aggrieved worker unless the worker has first given the complete story of his grievance to the foreman. It further orders the foreman to remain present at all times while the worker and the committeeman discuss the grievance. Obviously this will discourage all but the toughest union men from reporting a grievance. And if the union cannot be used for handling grievances, the natural reaction of the worker will be to balk at joining or paying dues to the union.

Mr. Richter fails to state that the General Motors department of the U. A. W.-C. I. O. had promptly informed the General Motors Corporation that it would refuse to recognize the order which it had issued to its foremen. Following our protest, we entered into negotiations with the corporation on this matter. When the corporation declined to rescind its order, we took the matter to the War Labor Board. On the insistent petition of the General Motors department of the U. A. W.-C. I. O., the War Labor Board, on May 10, 1945, issued the following directive order:

> When the employee, after thus stating his grievance (to his foreman), asks for his committeeman, the foreman shall send for the committeeman without discussing the grievance with the employee until the committeeman arrives.
>
> After the arrival of the committeeman, the employee shall have the right, if he so desires, to discuss the grievance privately with the committeeman before it is discussed with the foreman.

This directive order of the War Labor Board completely voids the order which the corporation had sent to its foremen. Those who know the policies of the General Motors department of the U. A. W.-C. I. O. might have known that we would never accept without challenge the order which Mr. Richter describes in his article.

ELWIN J. CORBIN,
Chairman, National General Motors Council, U. A. W.-C. I. O.

Detroit, Mich., July 14

Italy Today

Dear Sirs: We who fought fascism were but a few of pure faith, full of enthusiasm, and without means of our own; yet we helped each other and supported the underground press. There were never more than six persons at our meetings so that if one was caught and talked under torture, he could give the names of no more than five persons. I was the public-relations man of the ———— Brigade. There were only three of us in 1944. When the insurrection broke out we numbered over twenty thousand. We too would have liked to proclaim a republic during the twenty-four hours that followed the insurrection. It was not possible. But we shall have a republic yet. All the popular mass parties of Italy are for it. It was not possible to

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ask further sacrifices and lives of our tragically tried people. We shall come to a republic through persuasion. I am positive of this. We refuse to have anything to do either with the Regent or the Regency. We have great hope in Parri's government. He is a man who has given his all to his country and he is paving the way for a new Italy that will be free and independent. His successor will reap the laurels and fruit of what is being done today.

We must be prudent and calm. There has been too much suffering, too much horror, too much abuse. We must not repeat past mistakes. We must succeed, but through persuasion. Let us not forget that the youth of Italy was born and reared in a completely Fascist climate. We have become a people without political education. Only the man who has suffered is sufficiently balanced to have a clear understanding of the times he is living in. He is athirst not for blood and vengeance, but for justice.

I was arrested in September, 1944. They knew that I was connected with Parri. But they never got a shred of information from me. They found a picture of the Maestro [Arturo Toscanini] in my pocket. For the first time I was hustled before a firing squad. They fractured my skull and bashed in my ribs on the left side and broke two on the right side. They held lighted cigarette and cigar butts to my chest and then doused me with alcohol. I was beaten from head to foot almost to a pulp. My fingers were slashed with razor blades and my hands gashed in the form of a cross. I could not wash. I could not even blow my nose. I had to sink my face into my plate to eat. They subjected me to other unnameable kinds of torture which left me impotent for six months. Brought before the Special Tribunal, I was twice condemned to death. I sometimes wonder how I lived through it all.

There are still men and women with courage in Italy. Unfortunately, we must still fight, especially those who succeeded in filtering into our ranks. They are the same ones we knew twenty years ago. We must be calm and serene. Our brothers overseas must follow us and not handicap our very hard work which can assume a dynamic character if the need should arise. Only through our own efforts will Italy again be free and independent. Italy is eager to start upon its reconstruction. Justice will prevail everywhere sooner or later.

ITALIAN ANTI-FASCIST

Italy, June 23

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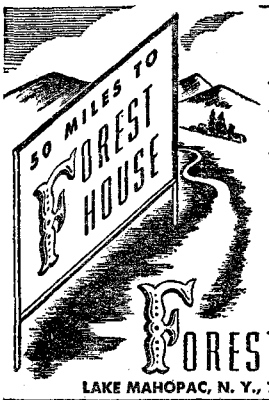

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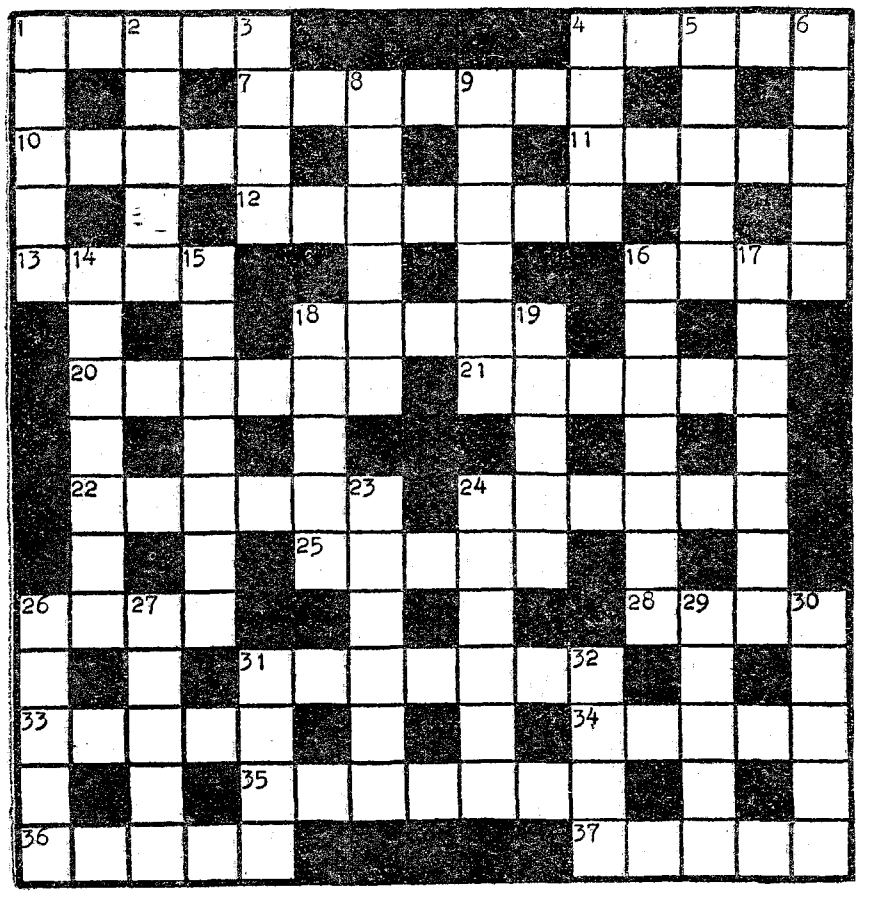
Crossword Puzzle No. 124

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Open to receive food for the hungry
4 Explosion of gunpowder
7 Count in
10 Street urchin
11 I help to make Dutch cheese, but am not really wanted
12 A dweller in Cloud-Cuckoo-Land, perhaps
13 Stand by ready to execute
16 The common man of Germany
18 Sounds like a team that is full of ideas
20 Gag that seems to impede the breathing
21 Catch
22 You don't usually mind when he takes your job
24 New York quarter reputedly full of gunmen and bad yeggs
25 A Scottish dog, but not a Scottie
26 Star that has set
28 Horse racing
31 Scottish equivalent of English aldermen
33 Suitable card game for stokers?
34 This flower sounds right for lots of sheep
35 A collector
36 Moved unsteadily
37 How the Irish playwright, Yeats, pronounces his name

DOWN

1 There's an element of doubt about such power
2 Unnerve
3 A farmhand
4 Was first brewed by the ancient Romans
5 Empty
6 English river, and thanks to mother nearly all of it
8 Mark made by folding
9 Reduced to its original form
14 Eight of them have ruled England
15 A word mentioned once in the clues Across
16 Born in Ireland, lived in England, studied music in Germany, became an American citizen
17 We don't mind if he pays us back in our own coin
18 An early Mexican
19 Not broadside on (two words, 3 & 2)
23 Bluebeard's last wife
24 If yours are picked, someone's getting a bright idea on the cheap
26 Half seas over
27 Awry
29 The lights o' London were, until September, 1944
30 "Once upon a time there were three little ----- Who didn't wear stockings and who didn't wear sockses"
31 You won't find it easy to hit this nail on the head
32 Make it snappy!

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 123

ACROSS:—1 JOSEPHUS; 5 CARAFE; 10 KENIL; 11 HOROSCOPE; 12 LAST MAN; 13 ANODYNE; 14 CHANGE; 15 HIDE-OUT; 18 TALLEST; 21 BALLET; 24 USURPER; 26 ROMANCE; 27 INFORMANT; 28 TWAIN; 29 HIDDEN; 30 MANDOLIN.

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